

**L I G H T**  
 In the W A Y  
 T O  
**PARADISE:**  
 WITH OTHER  
**OCCASIONALS.**

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*Light is sown for the Righteous, Psal. 97. 11.*

*In the way of righteousness is life, Pro. 12. 28.*

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By DUDLEY the 2<sup>d</sup>. late L<sup>d</sup>. NORTH.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for William Rogers at the Sign of the Sun over-  
 against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1682.

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# OCCASIONALS.

Light is given for the Righteous, That of the

In the way of righteousness is light. Prov. 13: 9.

By DODDLET the late Ld. BISHOP

LONDON

Printed for William Bower in the Strand at the Sign of the Gun  
against St. Dunstons Church in Fleet Street.



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## THE INTRODUCTION.

**L**IGHT *exteriour is the most precious emanation that floweth from any body natural. It is the guide of our actions, the spur to our industry, and the comfort of our life, and the inward light of reason in the mind is no less considerable, being the directour of our resolutions, the resolver of our doubts, and (in its perfection) that which differenceth Men from Beasts. If light external and light internal be of such excellence, what shall we say of light eternal flowing from the Sun of righteousness, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world? This is the life of our Souls, which raiseth us up from the unclean sepulchre of Sin, and indueth us with new faculties of mind, giving us also power to discern spiritual things, with fresh appetite to desire them. Our light in the way to Paradise (at the best) is but a reflexi-*

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*on of this righteous Sun's rays, yet in its nature of such importance, as it is fittest to be managed by those who have been trained up in schools of the Prophets, and therefore it may be deemed a presumption in me, who am neither Prophet nor the Son of a Prophet, to undertake the governance of it, in which respect there may need some Apology for such intrusion. In my younger days I spent some time in an Army, where it is the duty of every common Soldier to fight, though the main ordering of martial encounters belong to the Commanders. And if such common soldier espy any advantage against the enemy, and make use of that opportunity to advance his Prince's service, he deserveth not much more blame than did Jonathan with his Armour-bearer, when he defeated the Philistins without taking directions from Saul his Prince and Father. As the race is not to the swift, nor the battel to the strong, &c. so is not perswasion confined to the Rhetorician, nor finding out of truth to the learned, or to any particular*

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condition of men. In the art of *Physick* recourse is chiefly had to Doctors, and to such persons as have been trained up in the study of it, yet if *Empiriques* (a contemptible rank of People) and even Women, should be wholly barred the use of their Medicines, it might be the loss of many mens lives. All Christians are not Churchmen, but we are all members of the Church, and as much concerned in the overthrow of our great enemy, as they. If I were capable of writing with as much strength as was the Great Grotius, and some other eminent Scholars of the Laity, I might deserve praise as well as they. In these respects the Sin (if it be Sin) of bringing light to confound the Prince of Darkness with his Legions, can be no more than venial. The truth is, my approaches to the choice of this Subject were not without reluctance, considering not only, that it was more proper (as hath been said) for persons of another robe, but also that upon the matter it is the business of every Minister in his Pulpit. Yet at last I fixed upon it

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*as fittest for the farewell of my Pen, for both Reading and Writing are now grown so troublesome to me, as I have reason to dispose my self to a retreat, with a confinement to that study which is only necessary to aged persons, viz. the holy Bible with some Commentatours upon it. Now I suppose there will be divers objections against this little Work. As first, that it is too void of Learning for such a Subject. To this my answer is, that though my reading have not been much, yet I have not herein affected to shew that little whereof I am possesst, for I write not so much to the Learned, as to the rational part of men, and I confess that the use of Reason is my best weapon, which if I can so manage, as to perswade any considerable number of persons to goodness and piety, it shall fully satisfie me, without gaining the least reputation to my self by writing. Another objection may be, that for so serious a Subject, this discourse is somewhat too Poetical, by fiction of Mounts, Plains, Waters, Rocks, &c. But I shall*  
pre-

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*presume that whosoever hath considered the whole book of Canticles, and S. Paul's expressions, of the Buckler of Faith, Sword of the Spirit, and such like, will easily pardon this fault, and the rather, because he who desires to win upon the opinion of others in writing, must endeavour to add some delight to his more serious matter. Some may perhaps mistake my distribution of the whole way of Righteousness and Holiness into parts, as if I meant all those particulars necessary to Salvation, but that is answered in the second Chapter, where Fundamentals are said to be few, or as if that Method were only to be used in treading the path, making Faith the last step, which as the primum necessarium ought to come first. As to this it may be observed, that in great Solemnities the chief persons come in the last place, but lest this answer may be thought trivial, let it be noted that S. Paul's order is the same, 1 Cor. 13. 13. where he saith thus, And now abideth faith, hope, and charity, these three, but the greatest of these*

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these is charity. Howsoever, in our distribution there is meant only priority of order, and not of honor; and if good observation be made in reading, faith will be found to be fitly placed, in divers respects. But whatsoever our order is, we all know that God calleth at what hour seemeth good to him, and useth his own Method, accepting of that which is really intended, rather than of that which is acted. If there be yet further exception, it is likely to be at my rough and unpleasant Style; But every man is not born to have a Ciceronian vein, and a fluency of Expression, neither is curiosity of Language necessary upon a Subject of this nature, where (as I conceive) if the Authour have words to express his matter clearly and fully, it ought to be accepted of. Likely it is that there are many other faults and imperfections, but it would be hard for me to find them, since we are all too subject to be dark-sighted in judging our selves, and therefore as well I as my errors, must stand exposed to a free censure.

LIGHT

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L I G H T  
 I N  
 The Way  
 T O  
 P A R A D I S E.

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C H A P. I.

*The way to Paradise is that of Holiness  
 and Righteousness.*

*This way easie in it self to be found.*

**T**O find out the way leading to Beatitude,  
 and to tread in it, is (according to Na-  
 ture) the business of every wise Man's  
 life; and thus much the Heathen Philosophers  
 easily found out by the light of Reason, but  
 their understandings were so darkned by Self-  
 love,

love, as they made their blessedness the only end of their life, whereas it is, indeed, but the consequent of an End more true and precious, which is the serving of God. We are all Creatures, and made as well for our Creator, as by him, whose goodness is such, as our personal felicity is no whit the less sure to us by being post-posed, for it is utterly impossible, that a faithfull and persevering servant of God should fail of attaining everlasting happiness. The only passage to it is through Holiness and Righteousness, and it is a high violation of divine Providence to affirm access to these to be very difficult. Since it cannot be, that goodness infinite should hold concealed from reasonable Creatures that which is necessary to them, as the prime intent of their Creation. But here some Texts seem to overthrow our opinion, as *Matth. 7. 14. Strait is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth to life, and few there be that find it.* And *Luke 13. 24. Strive to enter into the strait gate, for many I say, will strive to enter in, and shall not be able.* But the Learned Grotius sheweth the difficulty to lie in the Persons, and not in the gate, or way, for upon the words, *few there are that find it*, he saith, *Et quare non assequuntur? quia de rerum finibus viisq; ad finem non recte judicant, neque ut recte judicare possint operam dant; And why do they not find? Because they judge not right of the end of things, and of the way to that end, neither endeavour*



*deavour to judge rightly. And upon the words, strive to enter and shall not be able, he saith, Nemo est qui immortalitatis cupiditate non teneatur, sed non tanti est ut propterea velint carere hujus vitæ commodis; There is no man who is not possess'd with a desire of immortality, but it is not so precious, as for its sake they will want the good things of this life.*

The sweetness of that divine Providence appeared manifestly at first in our Paradise terrestrial, where the tree of Life (which Typically represented life Eternal) was no more under interdict, than any other fruit in the Garden. The freedom given concerning this tree of Life, and the rest, set in ballance against one onely tree of Knowledge, cannot but much aggravate the offence of our first Father; yet I am perswaded, that the chief aggravation lay in his presumptive emulating the divine Perfection, for the Serpent's chief argument to seduce him lay in that. By this transgression, *Adam* for himself and his posterity contracted much weakness and disability to walk in the right path, yet since the same transcendent goodness in the Deity hath continuance (not being capable of the least diminution) we may well conceive, that the way it self is not perplexed with any greater difficulties than before; but least of all can it be conceiv'd, that finding of the right path should be made to depend upon curiosity of knowledge, since the transgression it self was ground-

ed upon an affectation of knowledge. This is well set forth in the 10th. to the *Romans* about the 6th. Verse and downwards, where after shewing the unnecessariness of some curious questions, it is said, *The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that is the word of faith which we preach. That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus Christ, and shalt believe in thy heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.* And in the *Jewish Church*, the way was easie enough, for if their Ceremonial Law were full of Mystery, it concerned their Clergy and Scribes only, but for the People in general, no more was required of them, but an expectation of the promised Seed or *Messias*, observance of the Decalogue (which with them was perspicuous enough, being to be understood in the literal sense, and not as our Interpreters have made it, by deduction of innumerable particulars out of every precept, impossible for the Vulgar to retain in memory) the payment of Tithes, providing of materials for Sacrifice, and their attendance at known Festivals; all which carried little difficulty as to the knowing what was to be done. Here I cannot well omit a Religion (for so I may call it) allowed by the *Jewish Rabins* to the *Noachidæ* or *Gentiles*, meaning all save the descendents of *Jacob* called the Children of *Israel*. They term it *Jus naturale*, or the law of Nature, which they suppose to have been

been impressed by God in the heart of man at the first; and the *Jews* held, that by a due observation of this, as the Law of God, the *Gentiles* became capable of future reward, though not in measure any thing proportionable to that which was prepared for themselves. This Law consisted of seven Principal Heads or Chapters, and because they are not known to us, like the Ten Commandments, I shall give a Catalogue of them, 1. *de cultu extraneo, or a prohibition of serving false Gods.* 2. *de maledictione nominis Altissimi, against cursing or prophanation of God's name.* 3. *de homicidio, against Man-slaughter.* 4. *de revelatione turpitudinis ex concubitu, against Incest, and such unlawfull cohabitations.* 5. *de furto & rapina, against Theft and Rapine.* 6. *de regimine forensi & obedientia civili, for establishing of Judicatories and obedience to them.* 7. *de membro animalis viventis non comedendo, against eating the member of a creature while it is living, by which is also intended mercy to sensible creatures.* These Heads are but few, and many of them fall within the *Decalogue*, so as the observation could not be so difficult as was the *Jewish* Law, which is the only reason why I named them.

Selden de jure  
Nat. Lib. 7.  
Cap. 10.

Lib. 1. Cap. 10.

## CHAP. II.

*Of Fundamentals Positive and Negative.*

**B**Y that which hath been delivered in the first Chapter, may appear, that the way to Salvation is not involved in much difficulty, and thence it must follow, that the Fundamentals of Religion are neither many, nor abstruse, I mean not Fundamentals in the strictest sense, for so *Christ* is the only Fundamental, proved 1 Cor. 3. 11. *For other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ*; but in a sense less restrained, yet Fundamentals without which there can be no Salvation. These are either *Credenda*, matters of faith, or *Agenda*, matters of action, the former kind comprizeth all necessary points of belief, whereof it is hard to limit the number, and the latter only obedience to God, in lieu of which he is pleased to accept a resolution to obey, a thing so necessary, as a man can no more be saved without it, than a person in actual Rebellion is capable of his Princes pardon till he consent to submit himself. The points of Faith according to our supposition, are neither many, nor hard to be found. Yet I dare not affirm (as some have attempted to prove) that they can be attained by strength of reason, for if it were so, then were it a very

very rational conclusion, that divine Revelation is unnecessary, and certainly none of God's works are so. I confess that the prime fundamental of Faith, which is the being of a God, and not only so, but the being of one God in opposition to the *Polytheists*, is perfectly deducible from reason, but this cannot be sufficient for us Christians, who are possessed of the divine Oracles to direct us. True it is, that my charity will not permit me to conclude under Eternal damnation those Heathen Philosophers and others, who in their reason having found out that there is a God, have applied themselves to doe Justice, love Mercy, and walk humbly with the Deity. I cannot deny but most of them were Idolaters, yet certainly the learnedest of them (as the *Platonists*) held that there was but one Eternal being, or Omnipotent; and as for other inferiour Deities, they worshipped them only as Representatives of the divine Attributes, which may be made appear by particulars, *Pallas* and *Apollo* representing the divine Wisdom, *Venus* the Beauty, *Diana* the Purity, *Bacchus* and *Ceres* the Bounty, *Mars* the Power, &c. And how they doing so should be more culpable, than such persons as adore the Images of Saints departed, who are known to have been mere creatures, it is not easie to imagine; and yet the more moderate of our Divines do not conclude those Image-worshippers to be absolutely lost. But I would not be understood

by this my tenderness to condemn, as if I submitted not to the full decisions (even in that particular) of the Church either Ancient, or Modern. It is time to leave this digression, and to return to our *Credenda*, touching which, unless we confine our selves (as our Church of *England* doth) to some few Creeds of great antiquity, which are otherwise generally received, I know not whither we may be carried. For Churches prevalent for the time being, will never fail to impose such things to be believed as tend to the supportation of their authority and received tenets, as appears fully by the power lately assumed, and exercised by the Church, of *Rome*, which pretends as much, as any other can doe, to a warrant in Scripture for their Innovations. Thus much of fundamentals of Faith. Some extend the word Fundamental so far, as they make a peremptory Negation of any thing delivered in Scripture, or by other unquestionable authority for Truth, to be destructive, and this they call a Negative Fundamental. They illustrate this by part of the Apostles Creed, wherein it is said, that *Christ* suffered under *Pontius Pilate*, That he suffered is a positive Fundamental, but that he suffered under *Pontius Pilate*, is no necessary point of Faith; yet if any will peremptorily deny the truth of this, it becomes damnable to him; and upon that ground the Learned Doctor *Hammond* pronounceth a negation of the *Athanasian* Creed

to be destructive. I conceive this too large for the word Fundamental, yet take it thus, and it is not difficult for any man to forbear such denial of that which he knoweth not. The Fundamental *circa Agenda*, viz. a resolution of full obedience to God, is a tree that will produce the good fruit of a holy life, which is necessary in the way of Salvation. In this I would not be misconceived, as if I thought there were any meritorious cause of Salvation, but our *Saviour* and his satisfaction; for we and ours are always imperfect, and have no acceptation but in him; yet since the Scripture saith, that *without holiness none shall see God*, and that *Christ shall salute the just*, saying, *Come ye blessed of my Father inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world, for I was hungry and ye gave me meat*, &c. Mat. 25.34. it can be no derogation to term our good life a secondary cause.

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### CHAP. III.

*Of Sensuality an impediment in the way of holiness, and of seasonable mortification its antidote.*

**T**HE way of holiness and righteousness (as we see) is easie to be found, and yet it is seldom travelled in, which makes me call to mind

mind a saying which was usual with an ancient Lady, and this it is; *How easie conveniencies are to be found, and yet how hard it is to find them*: This seemeth frivolous, yet carrieth a considerable sense with it, for things very obvious in themselves appear not to an eye encombred with weakness, or to a mind perplexed. The former needeth no instance, and for the latter, I conceive, it may be illustrated in the History of *Balaam*, who when an Angel stood directly in the way to oppose his passage, discerned him not, and yet the Angel was visible to his poor Ass, a stupid creature by nature; and from this may be concluded, that the Prophet was then disturbed with ambitious, and impetuous thoughts, which for the present deprived him of using, even his senses, much more easie it is to have a mist cast before us, (as to our Intellect) both by our selves and others. I know nothing that doth more blind us, than Sensuality, every thing which in that kind crosseth our desires appearing full of difficulty. By that inclination we give to the Body a sovereignty over the Soul, so as the faculties of it are almost extinguished, as *Horace* expresseth concerning Diet.

———*Corpus onustum*  
*Hesternis vitiis animum quoq; prægravat una*  
*Atq; affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ.*



Or thus,

*Excess in Bodymakes the Soul decline, (vine.  
And choaks with earth a share of breath di-*

Corporeal pleasures are so agreeable to our depraved nature, as persons of a Sanguine complexion (which is the best) are easily captivated to them, and, as I conceive, this is a cause of the great encrease of the *Mahometan* Profession, which is so composed to win sensual persons, as the perfection of their supposed and hoped for Paradise is set forth in a promise of Satiety in that way. Our Christian Divines of all Sects run a quite contrary way, and preach up Mortification with great vehemency. Certainly this is excellent Physick for that disease, but not a Catholicon, for different diseases require a different way of cure. Catharticks and Phlebotomy are only fitting for bodies Plethorick and Cacochymical, but many are Consumptive by nature, and Cordials are as beneficial to these, as the former are destructive. And some persons oppressed with Melancholy would be (and sometimes are) lost for want of constant and innocent divertisement, for nothing is so mischievous to them, as a multitude of serious thoughts. I have said thus much to shew, that good Physick may be misapplied, especially when there is danger on both sides. The way of Sensuality is the more frequent, but that of extreme abstinence

abstinence and solitude the more dangerous, or else Satan would never have sought advantage against our blessed *Saviour* at such a time; and Histories deceive us, if Solitude by Monastical life, hath not heretofore tempted and prevailed with many persons to apply themselves to execrable studies. It is therefore wisdom, to observe our own inclinations, and finding the Vessel swaying it self to one side, we must carry weight to the other. Certain it is, that persons given over to pleasure, can never attain Heaven till a change. But it is error to conceive, as Zealots in most Professions do, that God is delighted in the sufferings that we cast our selves into, till it become a kind of torment; for it can not be believed, that God hath furnished this World with so much delicacy and delight, intending that a moderate use of his Creatures should be finfull. He requires only a life temperate, and pure, full of humility, in which condition men are always fitly disposed to the exercise of Devotion, but in case of rebellion in the flesh, the exercise of due and seasonable Mortification is very necessary; but otherwise it is in the nature of Physick, which continually taken becometh not only offensive, but hurtfull. And such occasional mortification quickneth the senses, and uncloggeth the understanding, so as it returneth to a capability of clearly discerning the right way.

## CHAP. IV.

*Of Pride.*

**A**NOTHER mist cast by our selves to blind our understandings is Pride, a kind of self-Idolatry. For the description of the men addicted to this vice, I shall borrow an expression of my own, in a piece, which made publick in some measure otherwise, is not likely to see the Press, and this it is, *They arrogate to themselves a kind of Divinity, in thinking their own encrease of glory and advantage to be the only fit object of all their intentions and actions.* These men are odious in the sight of God, for *Salomon* saith, *Pro. 16. 5. The proud in heart are an abomination unto the Lord;* and both *St. Peter* and *St. James* use the same words, *God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble,* *Pet. 5. 5.* and *James 4. 6.* and the word *ἀντιστάμεται*, signifieth a resistance more than ordinary, as being set in battel against them. Invocation or Prayer is a great part of God's service, and how the proud man should be fit for it, I cannot see, unless it be with the Pharisee to give God thanks for being better than other men, which Prayer hath little acceptance. I confess there is a kind of Pride spiritual, as if those mentioned by *Isaiah 55. 5.* who say, *Come not near me,*  
for

for *I am holier than thou*; and so some in these our days have been elated in mind, finding themselves able to pray extempore, and to be endued with a readiness in performance of other spiritual exercises, which they term an immediate assistance of the Spirit. I acknowledge this to be *gratia gratis data*, but it hath been proved to us by sad experience, that such gifts may be abused to publick disturbance. This Pride is an offence of the highest nature, and so is Spiritual pride in any other kind, being most opposite to the way of holiness, which above all things requireth an humble spirit. Our Chronicles relate unto us out of *Beda*, how the ancient Christians of *Bangor* refused to give the right-hand of Fellowship to *Austine* the Apostle of *Kent*, because he did not receive them with that humility, which was proper to be used by one brother to another, concluding him thence (upon rules given by a Hermite) to be a proud person, a quality incompatible with Christianity, as they supposed. Certain it is, that the opposition between him and them was a great hindrance to the then propagation of Christianity, though afterwards the difficulties were happily overcome under his governance, which shewed God's blessing to be upon his endeavours, so as possible it is, the old Christians might be faulty as well in concluding him guilty of Pride, as in their own being contentious. The *Novatian* Heresie was known to have been grounded

ed upon pride, by an exaltation of persons of that sect in their own thoughts, for steadiness in time of Persecution, when others failed, which caused a denial of Communion, though testimony of Repentance were given. And I conceive, we may say, that elation of mind in the Heresiarchs, or Founders, hath been cause of most (if not all) other heresies. I cannot willingly pretermitt a sect of these our times, unheard of in former ages, whose character of difference from others is this. That they will not shew respect to any man as their Superiour, by which it seems they conceive, that God has been as liberal to them, as to any other, for parts of mind, and other graces in the way of perfection. I cannot say that these men are proud, because it appears not, but they may think themselves as mean in every kind, as any other; but surely there is not the least space with them for humility, which is a most Christian vertue, for they must not acknowledge the least inferiority in themselves. We all know, that Pride caused the fall of Angels, and it is not easie to conceive, how those, who are guilty of that Luciferian sin, can think well of any way, that requires self-denial, so as we may safely conclude that vice to be one of the chief mists to cloud our understanding.

## CHAP. V.

## Of Prejudicacy.

**M**ANY other impediments there are within our selves, which hinder a choice of the right way, but I shall content my self with a specification of those two. The chief hindrance arising from others is Prejudice or Prejudicacy, not easie to be avoided, for we receive it by education and *quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu*, and full vessels are incapable of receiving addition. An honest well meaning Gentleman of my Kindred would frequently say, *I was born a Protestant, and by the grace of God I will dye in that profession*. The expression of such resolution is unusual, but the thing very common. Our *Roman Catholique* must not hear any argument tending to a change of his Profession; and the *Mahometans* are said to be directed by their *Alcoran*, to draw Sword upon any man, who shall perswade them to forsake their Prophet. As for my self, I am so far from shutting my eyes to keep out truth, as I am willing to hear all, and when I am really convinced in judgment as to matters of Faith, I hold my self bound to profess the same outwardly. This seemeth favourable to our new lights, and to argue levity, but I believe my self

self to be so well grounded in matters of Religion, as it will be very hard to change me; and whatsoever I have said, I shall never be so injurious to the profession whereunto I stand yet engaged, as to change without a full hearing, and perpending, of that which can be said by the most eminent professors of the Doctrine which is assaulted. And this was my practice being very young, for in *Italy* I was in continual disturbance by a Gentleman of our own Nation, who laboured very much to win me to the *Romish* profession, and would not desist, till I assured him that I would never forsake the Religion wherein I was trained up, without a full hearing what would be said by our Divines, which was impossible to be effected there. By that which hath been said, you may see, what it is to be prepossessed by education. But, as I conceive, the hold is no less firm, when a person forsakes his first principles after long consideration. As it was with a Minister's wife in the days of King *James*, whose husband having been misled, some *Jews* perverted his wife also, with whom the new Doctrine took so fast hold, as her husband returning afterwards to his first grounds, could never by all his best arguments recover his wife, who continued her infidelity. Considering the husband's return home, I acknowledge that this may very properly be imputed to the perrinacy of that Sex, and if it be true, which some have observed, that upon Marriage be-

tween persons of different profession in Religion, the Wife for the most part draweth the Husband to hers. It may very fitly stigmatize the Male sex, which should have the commanding reason, as it hath command otherwise. The government of our judgement in the way of Religion is attempted by all Sects, and having gained Profelytes they justifie a separation by this Tenet. That the Conscience is obliged against a communicating *in Sacris* with those of the Religion publicly professed, which they conceive to be overcome with error, and the chief Standard-bearers with us are the *Roman Catholiques*, and the *Non-conformists*. There was living in the reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, the Progenitor of a very honourable and potent Family now in being, who having been bred a Soldier, and not taking matters of Religion into very serious consideration, was accustomed to say, that there are two ways leading to Heaven, one by *Rome*, and the other by *Geneva*, whereof either might serve the turn. But either he spake in jest, or considered not, that the Professors of these are resolved upon an opposition in lines so parallel, as they can never meet in any one point, and therefore will not lead to the same place. By these different ways and the prejudicacy wherein they engage people, it appears that some guide is necessary, but as to the choice, we must refer it to the Chapters following, where there will be more place for it.



## CHAP. VI.

*Of Government in Spiritual matters.*

**W**H<sup>O</sup>, or what is to govern in *Spiritualibus*, is a matter, which hath troubled the principal Divines in every Age. It hath been treated of by the most Learned, but hath not yet been cleared, and therefore I, who pretend not to any great Reading, or Schollarship, must not hope to work any great effect; yet being a Christian, and having a Soul to be saved, I cannot but have considered the point; and since it may be presumed, that what leadeth one rational man may be prevalent with many others, I shall offer some words concerning it, and leave them to judgment. Government in that kind, is either *in foro interiori*, or *exteriori*, as for the *forum interius*, or Conscience, it must be ruled according to the *judicium privatae discretionis*, or private judgment, for every man believes as grounds are offered to convince him. And as for this, the holy Scriptures, which on all sides are acknowledged to be the Word of God, are the fittest Judge; for the Church of Rome it self, which claimeth a Superiority over the Scripture, abhorreth being thought to determine any thing contrary to it. But the Scriptures are said to be but a dead Let-

ter, which in it self is unactive; so are Colours and other accidents to the outward senses, and yet when upon view the Eye concludeth the Grasse to be green, there is no further enquiry made. So it is with the Understanding, when the Text is clear, but when a doubt ariseth, an Interpreter is sought, yet after he hath been heard, the judgment must be mine, whether or no he hath made a right interpretation. And if the terms be clearly out of my reach, I deserve to be judged very imprudent, if I acquiesce not in the judgment of that Church under which I live; as it is in case of colours with a person whose sight is vitiated with the Jaundise, or any such disease, who hath no way to conclude but by the judgment of others. And so it must be with those to whom the use of Scripture is denied, which is the most probable cause of refusing it to Laiques in the Church of *Rome*, for by that means their Clergy becomes Oraculous. As for the *forum exterius*, consisting of Doctrines to be made publique, I know no remedy, but it must be directed by the Church-national for the present, and in case of further doubts, it is very happy when by consent the Divines of several National Churches are assembled together to settle the matters in debate. Of this nature were those which are received by the name of General Councils, though indeed they were not truly so, but called Oecumenical in respect of *οἰκουμένη*  
*Ρωμῶν*

*Papain* or the *Roman World*, which then contained well near all Christendom, and was within one Empire, whose Prince or Princes might assemble and dissolve them at pleasure. But as for a Council truly general of the whole World, it is impossible there should be any such, for there neither is, nor can be any means of assembling them. And so much concerning Judgment in general, as to matters of Faith. In the next place we may take into consideration those persons, or collective bodies, who are pretenders to a guidance in the Spiritual way.

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## CHAP. VII.

### *Of the Papal claim to Government in Spirituals.*

THE first that offereth it self is the Church of *Rome*, or rather the *Leviathan* of that Church, the Pope, who pretends to an universality and infallible guidance in *Spiritualibus*, by reason of his Chair, and Succession from *St. Peter*. But shall we receive that Chair to be Infallible, wherein (though it were famous for purity of Doctrine and Martyrdom in the Churches infancy) have been placed persons, who subscribed their names

for confirmation of Heretical Doctrines, as *Liberius* did in the case of Arianism, witnessed by several Fathers, and so far confirmed by *Platina*, as he affirms him *senfisse cum Ari-anis*; and which Chair hath also frequently been possessed by persons guilty of notorious habitual sins, giving little hope of their Salvation, as is generally confessed by Romish Doctors; which Chair hath also buoyed it self to such a height above all other power whatsoever, and this by a constant encroachment upon the Empire, which Empire without offence taken by former holy Bishops, constantly used the Power of calling and dissolving Councils? Shall we think that pretended Spiritual dignity to be of God, or as it calleth self the Vicariate of *Christ*, who said his Kingdom was not of this world, and whose Successors gloried in Poverty and Martyrdom, whereas this aboundeth in Riches and exterior power above any thing now extant in the Christian World? The managing of controversial Polemiques is a burthen too heavy for my shoulders, and therefore I leave it to our Protestant Divines, who have very sufficiently impugned the Doctrines, wherein they differ from ours; yet I may be pardoned if I offer some reasons, which are prevalent with me so far, as never to hold spiritual communion with them, till a change of their chief tenets, of which change there is very little hope. I take the two principal points to be these: That of the *Pope's* Supremacy,

macy, and that of Transubstantiation in the Sacrament, and I cannot concur with them in these, because they are absolutely opposite to common reason. As for a Supremacy over the Church, which Church is (or may be) dispersed over the whole World, it is impossible that any such Supremacy should be held by any, but *Christ* himself, who is God Omniscent and Omnipotent. For how can any one person know, what is done in all parts of the World, or hold such correspondence as to receive intelligence and convey orders Universally, since a great part of the Earth is yet undiscovered, and we know little or nothing of that which is already discovered? There might be some seeming necessity of such a Supremacy in Spirituals, as a means of Union in the *Roman* World (as it was usually called) which was under one Prince, or in any such large tract of ground under several Princes, so as the office of a Patriarch might seem reasonable. But there appeareth little sense for an universal Bishop, the exercise of whose Jurisdiction must be impracticable. I may profess, that upon conference with very considerable persons of the *Romish* Faith, I could never receive satisfaction to this Objection, and I believe that none can be given. The other point of the *Eucharist*, is as contrary to reason, as it is unnecessary to be believed; for how can it be thought, that at the first administration of that Sacrament by our *Saviour*

himself, the Bread and Wine delivered by him could be Transubstantiated, when his Body replenished with Blood was present at the Table, and instrumental in the delivery? And why should this be believed, when Transubstantiation takes wholly away the sign, which is an essential part of the Sacrament, *viz.* Bread and Wine, which are absolutely taken away in their substance, as the Romish Doctors fully declare? And to say nothing of carnal Manducation, which so offended the *Capernaitans*, what fruit can there be of eating without faith, for so *Judas* did, and perished? The chief use therefore of this, and the other Sacrament (or more, if any there be) is Spiritual, and may be preserved without an ordinary working of Miracles. I must upon these grounds conclude against such a guide, unless he were indeed Infallible, the contrary whereof doth so fully appear.

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## CH A P. VIII.

### *Of the Presbyterian claim.*

**A**NOTHER Government there is called *Presbyterian*, and received by many of the Reformed Churches, consisting of a subordination of mixt Assemblies, containing persons

sons both Spiritual and Laique, founded upon Parochial Congregations, with successive appeals from thence. This Government by preparatives to the *Eucharist* assumeth a power, and presseth as much (or more) upon Conscience, as that of the Romish Prelate. This affirmeth it self to be grounded upon Divine Right, and yet was altogether unknown to the Ancients, having little or no foundation in Scripture, for the Text most insisted upon by the assertors of it, which is, *Let the Elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially they who labour in the word and doctrine*, 1. Tim. 5. 17. concludeth nothing for Lay-elders, since it is most naturally interpreted, by a difference in point of industry between persons Ecclesiastical. It is a Government which seemeth adjusted to the latitude of a Democracy, and not to the altitude of a Monarchy, for in a Democracy where the supreme power resideth in many, and those being persons not taking any great State upon them, the Statesmen may easily disperse themselves, and have an influence upon those Assemblies by private conference with the Leaders; whereas in a Monarchy the Sovereign dealeth better with single persons, as the Bishops, in whom the common people have not so particular an interest, as they may have in those mixt bodies. The Emperor *Caligula* meant something, when he wished that the people of *Rome* had but one Neck that he might with ease cut it in two.

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If therefore it were lawfull for a State to fit a Church Government to its own constitution, I conceive that Monarchies and Democracies might speedily accommodate themselves in a choice. I confess that the *Presbyterian* Government, by reason of the last Appeal, is very good for Unity, which is a precious thing, and much to be desired, but in no manner (to my best observation) promised by our blessed *Saviour*, for he intimated the contrary *Luke 12. 51.* saying, *Suppose ye that I am come to give peace upon earth? I tell you, nay, but rather division, &c.* Princes and States (as we know, and as very Learned men affirm) have a great power in ordering Ecclesiastical government, for *Constantine* the Great, when he stiled himself *Episcopum extra Ecclesiam*, meant not by that word the office of *Επίσκοπος* among the Heathen, having no Ecclesiastical relation, but one who had a very high power, to order matters of that nature. And as to the Exercise of that power, it may minister some occasion of wonder, that any Prince should either enjoin or permit the *Presbyterian* government in his dominions (considering what hath been said), as it was in *Scotland* not many years past, and as it is now under some *German* Princes, but the marvail is not so great that it should be established in popular States. There are among us many other Sects well known, as *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, &c. which opposing themselves  
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against all Government, cannot be well stiled pretenders to any particular; but to avoid that imputation rendring them odious, they may shelter themselves under another Sect which assumeth the name of a Government, and hath entrails capable to receive and shelter them all. It is the Sect of *Independents*, or Congregationals, who are very strict in point of discipline, but it is within their own Congregation, wherein they are said to unite themselves by a particular Covenant, differing according to the sense of several Pastors. They deny a Church Universal, as a Body that can any ways produce activity, being impossible to be Congregated. And they will not admit of Appeal to any National-Church, or Council consisting of divers Nations, which gives their Pastors an authority little less than *Papal*. But the thing wherein this Sect most glorieth, is their moderation, in not pressing upon the Conscience of any person without the limits of their Congregation, which very much preventeth a taking offence by others. And thus much concerning our *Non-conformists*, who seem to be but ill Directors.

## CHAP. IX.

*Of the Church Government established  
by Law.*

HAVING bestowed some Paper in speaking of our *Non-conformists*, it were very injurious to those eminent Divines, who were directors in the Reformation of our *English* Church, and to the Church-government itself, not to say somewhat of it. As to our Reformers, none can deserve more praise than they, if it be commendable to use moderation. The Doctrinal part is not capable of moderation to be used, for Truth in every Antithesis of questions is but one, like to the God of truth. And I believe no man can affirm, that they have not gone to the very extremity of the Line in opposition to the Church of *Rome*, in matters Controversal; but in point of Discipline, where certainly there is much liberty left to Prudence, they have used great moderation, retaining some Ceremonies which are least liable to offence, with a desiring to win the *Roman Catholics*, if it were possible; by complying with them, wheresoever it might lawfully be done. But this is laid to their charge as Antichristian, when Heathenism might as well have been imputed to primitive Christians, who dealt  
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so with the Heathen, as *Casaubon* historically relateth in his original of Idolatries, though not approving the thing, and surely by that means many of the Heathens were gained. And so the primitive Fathers may be thought to have dealt also with the *Jews*, and in compliance with them to have instituted annual Festivals, set up Altars in Churches, taken the office (though not the name) of a Bishop, who in his Diocess quadrates with the *Jewish* high Priest, and to have ordered their Cathedral Churches answerable to the Temple, with Parochial Churches analogous to Synagogues. And may it not be said, that the holy Apostles, &c. complied with the *Jews* in the first Council at *Jerusalem*, by a temporary prohibition to the *Gentiles* of eating things strangled and blood? And as for our Church Liturgy it is now criminated by many, as Idolatrous, because in some things it resembleth the *Mafs*, though not in the main. But this charge is most unreasonable, for the *Mafs* in it self ought not to have been rejected, but for the Idolatrous part of it. And I profess my self, so far from being swayed by their Judgment, as to me it seems a great commendation of the *Common prayer-book*, to say that it complieth with Antiquity as far as lawfully may be done. Another Asperision is by them cast upon the Church of *England*, for retaining of Ceremonies, by resembling it to the Church of *Laodicea*, which was neither  
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hot nor cold, but certainly that heat, and coldness had reference to want of Zeal and fervency in Religion, and not to discipline, (since discipline in the Churches infancy ministred little occasion of dispute) which may stand for a sufficient answer in that particular. I confess, that no Reformation or Liturgy can be so perfect, as to be liable to no just exception, unless all were guided immediately by the Spirit of God. But will this justify a Separation? Certainly upon the same foundation we must separate our selves from all Christian Churches whatsoever. Will any man affirm, that if all particulars now excepted against in the book of *Common-prayer*, were altered with approbation of the most approved *Non-conformist*, the World would be satisfied with it? I believe not, and I may do so with good reason, for there are many among us, persons of eminency in that way, who declare all set Forms whatsoever to be unlawfull, which they call a quenching of the Spirit, if they be enjoyned, so as a rational man cannot find any way to give general satisfaction. For example, were not all set Forms of Prayer taken away by the late assembly of Divines in their Directory, and yet within that assembly were there not dissenting Brethren to most of their resolutions? I shall conclude all with that I received from the learned Lord *Herbert of Cherbury*, being then Ambassadour in *France*, how a very learned *French Gentleman* of the reformed

reformed Religion affirmed, that he thought ours the best tempered and ordered, of any reformed Church in Christendom, and that he was heartily sorry the constitution of the reformed in *France* was such, by their King's being of an opposite Profession, as they could not conform their Discipline to ours, for he did verily believe, that the *French* Divines would readily embrace an Union with us in all things, if it could be done.

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## CHAP. X.

### *Preparatives for the Journey to Paradise.*

NOW I hope that we may be satisfied, that there is no need of better guides in this way of holiness than our own Governors, who are not likely to build upon other grounds, than those which were laid at the time of Reformation, for it will be their interest so to doe; If that be true, which I received before our great troubles from a person, who is now a very Reverend Father in our Church, and Head of a Diocess, which is this; *That our Clergy is the happiest of any in Christendom, being free from many burthens to which the Papal Clergy is subject by means of frequent visitations, &c.* It is the custome of those who

who undertake Journeys to disburthen themselves of such things, as may be cumbersome upon the way, and so it will be fit for us to doe. But this voyage is far different from others, for here the burthens are not without us, but within us, as our blessed *Saviour* speaketh of defilements *Matt. 15. 18.* It is not our riches that we must cast off (for that were but a harsh advice) but covetous desires, and trust in riches *Matt. 10. 24.* Not our honours, but our ambition, for riches and honour may be helps in the way of doing good, if they be not abused, and so it is with most other outward advantages. It is usual also with travellers to provide themselves of Cordials to carry with them, and we can have no better cordials, than a resolution to make God's glory the chief end of all our actions, and a full submission to him in all things, preferring his will before our own, for these will sweeten unto us all outward crosses that can befall us, while we are in this pilgrimage; so it was with our blessed *Saviour* *Matt. 26. 39.* *Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt;* and with his holy Apostles, who were so far from repining at their sufferings for our Master, as they gloried in them: and so it must be with us, if we intend to receive the reward due for faithfull service in the conclusion.

## CHAP. XI.

*Of the supposed decree of Reprobation  
of Prescience and Free-will.*

NOW to prosecute the Subject of our Discourse, the next thing should be to set forth the places (or at least the most considerable of them) to be passed in this holy and righteous way, but it will be necessary first to take into consideration a Paradox, which if true, may prevent the occasion of endeavouring to journey at all. This Paradox is the opinion of fatal necessity in all things that come to pass, as well in the way of Salvation as otherwise. If this necessity be true, (as a decree of Saving or Damning all particular persons, makes it in the main point) many will be apt to say, *let us use this Worlds delights, while we may, for Judgment is already pass'd*, and the Argument were not irrational. Now since there are learned Divines, who assert Free-will in opposition to this opinion, I shall take for granted, that there are very many texts of Scripture, which may fitly be produced for each side; and therefore not being able to sound the *Abissus* of this controversy as a Divine, I shall only express how my own reason is governed in it. I first lay

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for a ground, that God is just, and in such away just, as is consonant to that which he hath infused into the heart of man concerning the principles of Justice, whereof one undeniable maxim is this, That no man is to be condemned, but he who hath wilfully offended, upon which ground very young children and madmen are to be exempted from such condemnation; from this it must follow, that every person capable of being so sentenced, must have freedom of will, and not be bound up by any necessity to perpetrate the evil which he committeth. And how can this stand with a decree of reprobation? The maintainers of this decree accuse the asserters of Free-will, as injurious to God, for taking away by that means his fore-knowledge, which (as they say) must be grounded upon some certainty, and comes not any ways so sure, as by a decree. And further they affirm, that it argues imperfection in God, if he fore-knew not both what is to be elected by the will, and all other things; for otherwise something must come to pass, which is new to him, and not consistent with his All-sufficiency. For my part I will never either say, or conclude in my thoughts, that God hath not a perfect Prescience, because there may be grounds of his fore-knowledge out of the reach of my imperfect understanding; but I must freely confess, I cannot see, how the determinations of our will should be fore-known at all. To me it seems altogether



as derogatory to the attribute of God's power, to say, that by no means he can establish a contingency, which contingency cannot, as I conceive, consist with fore-knowledge, whereunto necessity is always attendant. And as to the above-mention'd Objection of Novelty to God, it must be so however, for when any fore-known thing comes to pass, the existence of it is new to him that fore-knew it; as for example, The Prophet *Elisha* fore-knew and fore-told the plenty in *Samaria*, 2 *King.* 7. yet when the plenty came by means of the *Syrians* flight, the being of it was new to him, as well as to others; for the first existence of every thing is actually new, notwithstanding any former *Idea*, as a house newly built is new to the Architect, and for the Deity to receive it otherwise than it is, were certainly an imperfection. And that the election of the will be new, gives no impediment to God's providence in governing the World, for it concerneth only the divine Justice, as to rewarding or punishing the good or evil election, all action whatsoever being only in the power of God, and not subject to any man's will. Besides this, why should it be greater imperfection not to fore-know a thing, to which God hath given the nature of not being fore-knowable, than to want ability of making a thing not to be, then when it is? I must therefore conclude, that every man hath freedom of Will, to elect

what he shall doe, or else there can be no ground either for sin, or for punishment.

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## CHAP. XII.

### *Of Obedience to Magistrates Ecclesiastical or Civil.*

**N**OW we come to the particular places or passages in the way to *Paradise*, which by our Hypothesis are far from being level, but not unpleasant, for Countries consisting of risings and descents, are esteemed the most delightfull. I shall take my method from the *Decalogue*, making the places relative to Holiness, and to Righteousness. Yet adventuring to invert the order by beginning with the righteous part, and reserving that which relateth to holiness to conclude with, as fitter to come up close to *Paradise* it self. It must not here be expected that I should bring any thing that is new, for the way hath been always the same since Christ's *consummation est*, and is known to all able Divines, with whose writings the World abounds; but because there is much difference in limitations, and illustration of particulars, I shall apply my self to set forth some of them. Our first

first passage is by the plain of Obedience, and I must seat it in a Plain, because the way of an obedient person is easie, and clear. For where there is misunderstanding, the offence cannot properly be called Disobedience, and contrariwise the paths of persons disposed to raise doubts, are always rugged and perplexed; and I mean Obedience as it relateth immediately to Man, for there can be no question about Obedience to God. Here I lay as a foundation, that Obedience is due for conscience-sake to Parents natural, and to Magistrates either Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all things indifferent; by which indifferency, I mean matters left free by the law of God. This is a block in the way of all our *Non-conformists*, who have a position directly contrary, which is this; That it is an impardonable presumption (especially in persons Ecclesiastique) to violate the Church-liberty left by our *Saviour*, wherein they comprize all that is neither commanded nor forbidden by Divine Law, and to confirm this, they alledge the Text, *Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free*; which were of some importance, but that in the Verse immediately following, St. Paul specifieth Circumcision, and generally in the new Testament the word Liberty standeth opposed to *Jewish Ceremonies*, which are abolished, as we all know. And I appeal to common reason, whether or no, Governors of the Church ought not to give rule in things in-

different, without which they are nothing at all in the way of Government, for they have no power in things either commanded or forbidden by God, but only with their eye to see the rules observed. Since the Liberty above challenged will not admit them to punish, unless the way be expressly directed in holy Writ. Nay, if I mistake not very much, they affirm, that matters so indifferent in their own nature, as they their selves would otherwise doe them, become unlawfull by the very commandment of Superiours, and I believe that this position hath scarcely been known in any Church but ours. Wherefore our Governours cannot be justly blamed, if they suppress it as far as they shall be able. I acknowledge the truth of another rule taken up by them, That no person is bound to doe any thing that is contrary to his Conscience, *for whatsoever is not of faith is sin*; but every man oweth that right to himself, to be informed carefully and fully in all things required by the Magistrate, and in case he cannot be satisfied, that Obedience in that particular is lawfull, then to submit himself to punishment. And another question there is, which concerns the Temporal Magistracy, about Penal Laws, whether or no they bind the Conscience, since the penalty seems to be set in balance against the transgression. As for this, I shall go no further in the way of satisfaction, than by affirming, that the very end of making  
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inhibitory laws is this, That the particulars forbidden, should be forborn, and therefore Obedience is required absolutely, though the penalty be added as a Spur towards it, and thus much of Obedience.

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## CHAP. XIII.

*Of Justice.*

OUR next remove is over the Mount of Justice. I intend not Justice in the largest acception; for so it is as comprehensive as Righteousness (or rather convertible with it) containing a distribution of all, that in any kind can be due, as obedience to God himself, &c. But I take it as relating only to the Creature, and I give it habitation upon a Hill, that it may have a fair and large prospect, for no man can be just, but he must acquaint himself with circumstances, and the condition of him with whom he is to deal. The rule of Justice is to give every man his due, and much more that which is his own in property, but this must not be done to a madman, who may destroy himself and others by delivery of his weapon to him. Veracity also (or truth-telling) is generally due for preservation of Society, but this holdeth

not with Children, Fools, and Madmen, who are not capable of perfect society; so as we may so far digress occasionally from the strict rules of Truth, as to affirm to them that which is far different from the reality of being so, and yet the affirmation deserveth not the infamous name of a Lye. And as it seems, we understand that no Justice is due to Brutes, whom we destroy at pleasure, and justify our so doing, by the empire or absolute command, which God hath given us over them: I confess we may justify our destroying them, for defence of our selves and others; upon which ground we kill Serpents and other creatures, that seem to profess enmity to Mankind, or we may destroy them in defence of our goods, which becomes a ruine to Foxes and such cattel, extending even to Wasps and Flies, much more are we justified in taking away the lives (even of innocent creatures) to provide meat for the necessary sustentation of our bodies. But certainly God hath given to harmless creatures a right in their life and well-being, so as to kill, or maim them is injustice, and to take pleasure in doing so is inhumanity. Upon the tribunal of Justice there sitteth with her an Adjutant or Co-assessor called *Equity*, who always crieth out unto her, *Summum jus est summa injuria*, *The extremity of Justice is high injury*, putting her in mind, that a person who falleth within the verge of Justice punitive or distributive, whereby he is likely to be  
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be ruined, without having wilfully offended, or without a wilfull forbearing of that which should have been done, ought to be relieved. And thus far for preservation of Equity the common Justice of this Kingdom hath provided, but the rule is such, as in Conscience, and without publique Coertion, it ought to be observed in dealings between man and man. Justice is that which supports all Government whatsoever, and there was a shadow of this heretofore in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, where at the King's Coronation, and at some other solemn times, there was a publique declaration made in the King's own hearing, *That Justice was Superiour to him*, but those Kings becoming Monarchs of *Spain*, thought this Ceremony derogatory to their Greatness, and so have abolished it, though they their selves still subsist by Justice. There is a breach of Justice, wherewith we have been too far acquainted in this latter age, which is an assuming of power over others without any lawfull authority, either from God or man, and this for some time brought upon our Nation such confusion, as it may well be hoped, the people will never hereafter admit the least encroachment of that nature. Within the purview of this vertue are comprized most naturally the four last Commandments of the ten save one, so as near half the Decalogue belongeth to it. And Justice is so important in Christianity, as he who meriteth the name of a Just Man,  
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is understood to be a person exactly religious. A chief benefit arising from this vertue to those who are blessed with the habit of it, is freedom from horror of Conscience, which is more frequently stirred up to disquiet by injustice, than by any other offence whatsoever; and this exemption is more precious, because a troubled Conscience is the greatest unhappiness that can befall any man in this life.

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## CH A P. XIV.

*Of Temperance.*

**A**T foot of the mount of Justice, stands the house of Temperance, a frame built and situated rather for conveniency than curiosity, but wanting nothing that is usefull. The entertainment of Strangers is like to the house it self, affording nothing of excess, and yet that which is convenient in every respect. This Lady and her family lead a life most contented, being not acquainted either with repining for want, or with extravagant desire of attaining more than they enjoy. Their sleep is sweet, and they are not much in danger of diseases, because most sicknesses arise from distemper, and overclogging the Stomach. In  
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this family no good thing is forbidden, but the moderate use commanded. I find not in the ten Commandments, either Temperance literally enjoyned, or the contrary forbidden, but certainly it is greatly instrumental in the way of Religion. It preserves the faculties of the body and mind, in their full strength, as to all good duties, and therefore must be a very fit preparative for Devotion, and to such persons Mortification is of no use. As in most (if not in all) vertues there is error in defect, as well as in excess, so it is in this, though Governors find not immoderate abstinence so usual, as to provide against it, for the exhortations in all professions of Religion to abstinence and mortification, are without limits; yet *St. Paul* adviseth *Timothy* to a moderate use of Wine in respect of his frequent infirmities, and in the art of Physick it is a maxim, That diseases coming by Inanition are less recoverable, than those grounded upon Repletion. I cannot deny but the way of Excess is much more frequent, and it is hard to find a name bad enough for it, Brutish or Bestial coming short, since scarcely any creature is noted for it, but Doggs and Swine. Now let us compare this vertue of Temperance with some others. The Just man by doing his duty, may be exposed to the malice of persons conceiving themselves injured. Fortitude may call a person to the hazard of his life; nay, require the laying down of it. Liberality and  
Charity

Charity draw on some diminution of his fortunes, but Temperance is secure from danger, and occasioneth no damage, yet it only concerns a man's own person, whereas Justice and the rest have their influence upon others, and in that respect are to have a preference by a rule generally received, which is this, *Bonum quo communius eo melius*, which may bear this sense, *Good things the more communicative they are, the better*; but now it may be time for us to prosecute our journey beyond the house of Temperance, taking notice of her two fair daughters, Sobriety and Chastity, and observing her habitation to be fitly placed near to the Mount of Justice, since Temperance is a kind of Justice to a man's own body, distributing to it a due share of refection, and so preserving it in the advantages which Nature hath given.

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## CHAP. XV.

### *Of Fortitude.*

**T**HE next eminent thing in our way that offereth it self to view, is the mansion of Christian Fortitude, which is a Castle situated upon ground raised somewhat above the rest near it. This place had need to be defensible, for that precious treasure of truth seemeth to  
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trust her self in it, and where can she be with more safety than in Custody of those who will lay down their life for her defence? This Fort hath arms offensive and defensive, since Fortitude cannot want the fire arms of holy Zeal supplying arguments sufficient to maintain truth, and the armour of Patience is always at hand, enabling to receive and bear without giving ground, the violent assaults of Error and Heresie. And within this Castle there may be supposed to be kept a Record or Register of those eminent persons, who have either spent their lives in actual resistance against Invasions made upon the Church by *Pagans*, *Saracens*, &c. or laid down their lives by suffering as Martyrs for the true Faith. But here may arise a question how far war only offensive is lawfull in Christianity, I conceive their opinion to be fairest, who are absolutely against all war offensive, and it is hard in that respect, for the King of *Spain*, and Duke of *Florence*, to justify themselves in their fixed resolution, not to have peace, treaty, or commerce with the *Turks*. Peaceable society between man and man by the law of Nature is to be had whenever it may; and surely Christianity, which exalteth peace and amity above all other religions, will not contradict such a law. Besides this, very learned men conclude Killing to be unlawfull (even in War it self) unless it be in defence of person or possessions, and in such cases War becomes defensive, though

though it be to recover that which is lost for the present. Thus it was with *Ahab* for *Ramoth Gilead*, and he is no ways reprov'd for it, either by the Prophets, or by the pious King *Jehosaphat* his associate in that War. The like may be said in justification of War made by union of many States, or Princes against any one, who by continual encroachments rendreth his Neighbour incapable of single resistance. But it is not the being defensive of a War, that can justify an armed opposition by Subjects against their Sovereign, or supreme Magistrate, and least of all for defence of Religion, for this is diametrically opposite to the practice of primitive Christians, whose custome was, rather to submit their bodies to Martyrdom, than to make opposition to their Prince by force; And least it should be said they did so for want of power, there was Ten thousand Souldiers martyred at one time under *Adrianus*, and a whole Legion suffered it self to be decimated under *Maximinianus*, which always consisted of above Six thousand men. The necessity of Fortitude may appear, by the inconveniences and danger of the contrary, which is fearfulness. This taketh away the perfection of judging for the present, and exposeth a person to mischief, as appeareth by Scripture, *Rev. 21. 8.* where the fearfull are set in the front of those, who *shall have their part in the Lake, which burneth with fire and brimstone.* Both kinds

kinds of Fortitude active and passive ( though otherwise precious ) may be abused in Patronizing an evil Cause, but the passive hath one great advantage beyond the active, for no person can be enrouled as a Souldier, in the noble and victorious Army of Martyrs, but by the means of passive fortitude, or constancy, as some style it.

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## C H A P. XVI.

*Of Afflictions, of Repentance and  
of Comfort.*

**H**AVING strengthened our selves at the Castle of Fortitude, we descend into an obscure place, where there is a confluence of many Rivers, containing the waters of Affliction, upon these there is no Bridge, so as of force we must pass through them, and it is with much reluctance, but being within them, we have occasion (if not necessity) of looking upwards towards Heaven, and of holding up our heads, lest we be overwhelmed. The cold of these waters hath such operation, as it driveth the heat inwards, making us to reflect upon our selves, and our former miscarriages. I speak this only of those, who are furnished with grace sufficient to support them,

them, for others there are, who being voluptuously disposed, make no resistance, but are carried away with the stream, and utterly leave the path of Holiness, giving themselves wholly to be governed by the World, and the powers thereof. But those who are better disposed, use all their strength to recover the passage, and to continue in the right tract, and these are the only persons to be directed. These are not fully recovered of damage by those waters, or at least the damage is not forgotten by them, when they pass near to the bathing place of Repentance, and if they will, they may forbear to use the bathing; but their good Angel calleth upon them to purge themselves, telling them that their way having been narrow, they have made many Aberrations, so as it is very needfull for them to be purged by Sorrow, for their deviations, and from the filth contracted thereby. Some there are (the *Antinomians* by name) who declare Repentance to be altogether unnecessary, for *Faith* (say they) *purifieth sufficiently, and God seeth no sin in the faithfull*; but certainly there are not so many Texts of Scripture, requiring Repentance in vain, so as it must be necessary in the way of Salvation. And can that faith be true, which pretendeth to an assurance of sins to be forgiven, which were never either generally or particularly repented of, or remission implored for them? From these waters by an ascent, become somewhat difficult, by reason

reason of our fainting Spirits, we come to the garden of Spiritual consolation, a place not only pleasing, but usefull, for there we may discern at a considerable distance, the rock of Faith, and the temple of Holiness, as also the way to them. And in that Garden may be gathered herb of Grace usefull for Nutrition and Sustentation, and *Salvia* (or the hope of Salvation) as an incentive to Perseverance, from both which we may receive fresh vigour, enabling us to undergo the rest due of our journey.

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## CHAP. XVII.

### *Of Humility, of Charity, and Beneficence.*

NOW leaving the garden of Comfort, we descend into the vale of Humility. This was altogether unknown to the *Heathen*, or at least not esteemed a Vertue, which they always placed in activity, and took this for a hindrance to it. I find it mentioned in the Proverbs of *Solomon*, as commendable, but the *Jews* put it little in practice; so as we may term it purely Christian, especially that part of it which consisteth in relation

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only between man and man. This Vally is supposed a place so invironed with towring Hills, as it is altogether free from the tempestuous blasts of Ambition, and the Inhabitants are happy in the enjoyment of the blessings arising from peace and quiet; for here comes no *Promethean* Eagle of Care feeding upon the heart, no ravenous Wolf of Oppression, no circumventing Fox, nor undermining Cony of humane policy. All is peaceable, no noise of War, or Tumult, their musique being that of the innocent Turtle and the early Larke, the wakefull Nightingal, and such like. If the humble person dislike his condition he *shall be exalted*, Matt. 23. 12. But his chief privilege is, that God will give grace to him. as is witnessed both by St. *Peter* and St. *James*, *Pet.* 5. 5. and *James* 4. 6. Before we leave this vally of Humility, we come to the Fountain, or Well-spring of Charity, which is inexhaustible, receiving its virtue and plenty from a Charity, of as much higher nature, as its habitation is higher, even Heaven it self. This Charity, dilection, or Love, (for the *Greek* word ἀγάπη signifieth all) is eternal as the holy Trinity it self, for impossible it is to conceive the relation of Father and Son in perfection, without love between them, and it is from this Charity that we all receive both our being and well-being. The charity habitual in man, is termed a vertue Theological, but this charity is Divine, exclusive to

Faith



Faith and Hope, for the Deity is not capable of these latter. How can faith be in the Deity, who hath a perfect and absolute knowledge of all things? And how can there be hope in God, who hath a perfect fruition of himself, in whom all good things have their subsistence? This charity also can never want an object, either in the Deity it self (as you have heard) or in the Souls of men, to whom God hath given an everlasting being. Charity habitual hath her perfection only in our blessed *Saviour*, who gave himself for us Sinners. That which we have is but a Copy taken from that original, *for of his fulness we have all received, and grace for grace*, John 1. 16. yet this is to have an everlasting continuance when other graces fail; as *St. Paul* hath taught us 1 *Cor.* 13. But let us return to our well-spring of Charity, out of which continually there floweth water composing the river of Beneficence, or good works, which divideth it self into many streams, that it may the better water and refresh those dry and thirsty grounds which need it; and in this the charitable person carrieth a weak (but the best resemblance that his nature is capable of) of God himself, from whom we receive most constant effects of bounty and goodness during our whole life. This charity is a *virtue* perfectly Christian, for though we must conceive that the *Jewish* Patriarchs wanted not the habit of it, yet we find not (un-

less I mistake) in the whole old Testament (at least according to our *English* Translation) the word Charity, which is so frequently mentioned and exhorted to in the New; whence we may gather, that Precepts concerning it are not very frequent there. Lastly, I must give notice, that every Traveller in this *via lactea*, or *milky path to Heaven*, must drink deep in the well of Charity, for he cannot have admittance to Paradise without doing so, there being no place for Envy, Rancour, or Malice, and such like affections; whereas Charity, which is the cement of Brotherly society, and bond of Perfection, hath clear and uncontrouled entrance there.

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## CH A P. XVIII.

### *Of Faith.*

**N**OW having passed the well-spring of Charity, we leave the vale of Humility, and come to the Rock of Faith. A Rock I may well call it, for our blessed Saviour doth so, when, *Matt.* 16. 18. he saith to St. Peter, *upon this Rock will I build my Church*; meaning the faith of Peter newly exprest, as is affirmed by all our Protestant Divines; and it is very unlikely he would  
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build his Church upon a frail mortal Man, as *St. Peter* was, and not at all more probable that he would doe it upon a succession of Bishops from *Peter* (upon which *Peter* the *Roman Catholiques* suppose he intended to place that honour), for the Successors were not of his blood, which was a foundation of Priesthood among the *Jews*, nor are they now any thing of his mind, for he affected not worldly pomp and power, as they doe. The Faith therefore exprest by him, was that Rock, a much firmer foundation for such a Structure than any man, or succession of men, who by nature are subject to mutability. This Rock is high and hard of ascent. We may therefore help our selves in getting up, by the *Scala Sancta*, or *holy Stair of hope*, and not improperly, since by *St. Paul* *Heb. I I. I.* Faith is defined to be the confidence of things hoped for. But of what faith is this Rock composed? Certainly not of that faith whereof the Devils are capable, who are said to believe and tremble. Therefore it must be that faith which we call Justifying, or Saving. But what faith that should be, it is as yet little agreed upon among Divines. It cannot be that full perswasion of *being already made just in and through Christ*, which hath been so much asserted and fought for by the Reformed Churches till those latter days. For that destroyeth it self, according to a *Dilemma* brought by a very subtile Ro-

man Doctor, which is this, Either we are just before the having that faith, or not; If before, then that faith or perswasion justifieth not, for it found us just; if not just, then by that full perswasion we believe an untruth. Instead of this *πνευμα*, some of our Divines bring in a recumbence or reliance upon *Christ* for Justification and Salvation, which is not exposed to the former Dilemma, and may stand for justifying Faith, if it may properly be called Faith at all; whereof there may be some doubt, as I conceive. But since this Faith supposeth perfection, why do we reject that which the Schoolmen call *fides formata*, and seemeth to be intended, *Gal. 5. 6. by faith working by love*, or as it is in the Syriack Version, *Fides quæ per charitatem perficitur*, Faith compleated (or made perfect) by love? But that which is said *Rom. 4. 5.* may be objected, viz. *To him that worketh not, but believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness*; which words seem to make works unnecessary associates to Faith in justification; but I conceive that the working there spoken of, is meant of works meriting Salvation (or at least thought meritorious, as by nature we are all apt to think, and as the *Romish* Doctors hold some of theirs to be), for so much seemeth to be intended in the 4th. Verse immediately preceding this, where it is said, *Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but*  
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of debt, which can hardly be understood otherwise, than of works meritorious; and so the 5th. Verse followeth very naturally in the same sense, for such working is rather hinderance than help in the way of Salvation.

Thus much of that faith which is most precious, and perhaps too much in a point of such difficulty, and by a person who will be said to be out of his sphere; but the necessity of that Faith, and the general concernment of the business, may be my excuse. I must not forbear to express, that from the height of this Rock of Faith, a good Christian may see (as *Moses* did the promised Land from Mount *Nebo*) as much of Paradise, as is needfull, to comfort him against afflictions, and to arm him against the terrors of Death, whose gulf must be passed before admittance into Paradise; but of that more hereafter.

## CHAP. XIX.

### *Of Holiness and the Sacraments.*

**A**S *Christ* built his Mystical Church upon the mystical rock of *St. Peter's* faith, so we in our Allegory, where most things are supposed material, may be admitted to place our material Temple of Holiness upon the ma-

terial Rock. It is a Structure whereof I may say, clean contrary to that which *Ovid* expressed of the *Sun's* palace, *materiam Superabat opus, the work was of more value than the matter*, for here the materials do much in worth exceed the work. Here is no affectation of magnificent Workmanship, but the materials are of precious Stones, without the least blemish or spot, and transparent, which bringeth no inconvenience, since all persons coming upon this Rock, have eyes, and all other parts of body and mind pure, so as there can be no danger of Prophanation; and besides this, all Air within the Temple (as it is said concerning the tops of some very high Mountains) is so pure, as creatures merely earthy cannot breathe therein. As in the Temple at *Jerusalem* there was daily Sacrifice; so it is here, but of a nature far different, for those were Sacrifices built upon Cruelty, but these are pure and incorporeal, consisting of Prayer and Thanksgiving, offered constantly to God from pure and faithfull hearts, which are sure to find acceptance at his hands. And now before we leave the Temple of Holiness, it will not be improper to take into consideration, the two Sacraments instituted by our *Saviour*, which are the Seals of the Evangelical Covenant, for these Mysteries are always supposed to be built upon the Rock of Faith, and cannot be used but in Holiness. None can be admitted to Baptism, but upon profession of Faith,

Faith, which is the cause of its performance by spiritual Parents, when Children are baptized. As for the *Eucharist*, no person in any Christian Church is permitted to be a participant of it till fully possessed of the principles of Faith by being Catechised. The Sacraments by misunderstanding of some Texts, were by divers of the Ancients held necessary to Salvation, even in the *Opus operatum*, or outward performance. As for Baptism, there was a custom to confer it upon a Deputy in place of the person deceased, of which Vicarian Baptism we have a touch, 1 Cor. 15. 29. *What shall they doe who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not, &c?* And the *Eucharist* upon the like ground, was applied to dead persons (who were known not to have received it living), by putting the Elements into their mouth after departure. These erroneous proceedings came in by too literal Interpretation, as the error of Transubstantiation hath done. But certainly these Sacraments are so far necessary, as a wilfull neglect of them becomes dangerous, if not destructive to the person offending. Baptism is the Sacrament of Initiation, and therefore cannot be administered more than once; but the *Eucharist* is a kind of Spiritual refection, and therefore must be often iterated. Many persons are careless of using it, upon a conceit that it is left indifferent to us, but it is an absolute precept, *Doe this in remembrance of me*, Luke 22. 19.

22. 19. Others are terrified by fear of unworthy receiving, which is punished with Damnation, as it is in our Translation, 1 Cor. 11. 29. though the word *ἁγία* most properly signifieth *judgment*, (and the true sense seemeth to be such by the temporal punishments immediately mentioned), but it must be a strange point of wisdom, to run into wilfull Disobedience, which is certainly punishable, upon supposition of imperfect performance, which must be through our own fault. I therefore advise our holy Pilgrim, not to neglect a constant and seasonable use of this Sacrament, but to be also very carefull of a due preparation.

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## CHAP. XX.

### *Of Temptations proper to several parts of the way.*

**N**OW we have thus chalk'd out the right way to Paradise, it will be needfull to represent the danger of straying, for good Christians have those attending constantly upon them, who will not fail at every Stage by Entisement or terror to mislead them. These are the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, all of them sworn enemies to Mankind, though pro-



professing friendship. First, in the Plain of Obedience, on the right hand, the World putteth Passengers in mind that Obedience is either no way at all to prefement, or else a way tendring nothing that is considerable; whereas upon a faction raised, they may become Heads or Leaders in it, and by that means find a short passage to riches and honour. And on the left hand, the Flesh crieth up Liberty, and brandeth Obedience with the displeasing name of Servitude. Upon the Mount of Justice, on this hand, the World representeth Profit by gifts, with the favour of great Persons to be obtained; and on that hand the Flesh suggesteth great trouble and care in keeping the ballance even, with danger by loss of Friends, and favour, and in the way of Justice, in private dealings damage to our selves, by parting with that which we might hold. At the house of Temperance they lay several baits, and some terrour to keep us from entering in. To the young person the Flesh presents Beauty, tempting him to Incontinence, telling him that Youth will not last ever, and that it is folly to lose the pleasures of it. The aged person's Sobriety is assaulted by offer of Wine or strong drink, and he is told, that the uncomfortableness of his great years, is to be qualified by that which may render them chearfull. And all Ages are tempted by them with excess in Diet, and they cry out with *St. Paul's* Epicurean 1 Cor. 15. 32. *Let us*

*eat*

*eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die.* As for Christian Fortitude, they have several batteries against it. First, the Flesh represents the inconveniences of Shame and Ignominy, then the terrors of Death; and lastly, the Devil affirms it the height of Folly, to suffer for Truth, which is strong and will prevail howsoever; and as for Rewards after this life, he cries them down as no ways to be believed. In the waters of Affliction the Devil hath one great artifice, which is by suggesting to the person that he is out of God's favour irrecoverably, nay, in high displeasure with him; and therefore (like *Job's* Wife) he provokes him to curse God, and to apply himself to other remedies, wherein the World and the Flesh tender their assistance, as Seconds. At the baths of Repentance, the Devil pretends godly sorrow to be useless, upon the same grounds newly delivered at the waters of Affliction, and that there is great want of wisdom in those persons, who wilfully render their lives unpleasant by grief, and by a refusal of those pleasures which offer themselves to them. And in case he prevail not in preventing repentance, then he seeks to keep them from entering into the garden of Spiritual Consolation, by aggravating unto them all their past offences, affirming that there is no hope of mercy, and by seeking to prove it by Scripture, as *Ezek. 18. 4. The soul that sinneth it shall dye*; and *Mitt. 16. 27. Every man shall*

shall be rewarded according to his works, but still concealing those Texts that unfold the mercies of God. In the vale of Humility, the Devil setteth forth how all men are of the same extraction from *Adam*, and that the meanest may have as good natural parts, as the highest. That since honours and riches are in the world, the man who affecteth Humility may and ought to have his part in them, as well as others. That an humble conceit of a man's self and his own parts, causeth others to conceive meanly of him, and that this keeps him under, so as he should doe well to lift up his head, and forsake Humility, which is so disadvantageous to him. But the chief strivings of that infernal Spirit, are at the well-spring of Charity and river of Beneficence, Charity being a vertue most opposite to his nature; for of Faith (which seemeth in Scripture to contend in some measure with Charity for superiority) he hath some part, for he believeth there is a God, but of Charity nothing at all, being as utter an enemy to Mankind, as to all goodness. Here he exhibites the law of Nature, which seemeth to extol Self-preservation above all things, upon which preservation Self-love is attendant. Then he offers a Stoical maxim, *That it is weakness in nature, to compassionate another person in affliction*; and if so, then it must be absolute want of Prudence to assist others to the prejudice of a man's self. That in the circle  
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of Wisdom, Self is the Center, in which all the *Radii* or *Semidiameters* should terminate; That *nequicquam sapit qui sibi non sapit*, his wisdom is vain who is not wise for his own advantage. To this he adds, that Charity is opposite to all the ways of Eminency in this world. Honour and Greatness are attained by supplanting others, and Riches by imposing upon other mens weakness. And lastly, he expresseth the sweetness of Revenge, which is perfectly opposite to Charity. As for the Rock of Faith, the Devil now of late endeavoureth to blow it up wholly by two Mines. The first of them is that of the five principles of Religion, which leave out *Christ* wholly, or at least make Faith in him as a Saviour, to be a thing indifferent, but this like a Mushroom is newly sprung up, and I hope it will be of as short continuance. The other Mine is *Socinianism*, which denieth both the Deity and satisfaction of *Christ*, making him  $\psi\lambda\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omega\pi\iota\varsigma$ , or mere man, and by that means supposing him capable of meriting only for himself. Besides this, as he hath ever done, he battereth this Rock with all kind of Heresy, but it must and will continue firm, for the providence of God can never fail. We shall not need to say any thing of the Temple of Holiness, for when the Rock is once blown up, it can have no Foundation.

Thus I have endeavoured to express some of the chief dangers offering themselves in the way

way of *Paradise*, that they who are forewarned may be fore-armed, and I think there shall need no answer to each argument, since the very knowing who the tempters are supposed to be, must conclude them either fallacious or misapplied; and I hope our holy Pilgrim will look straight forwards upon the Rock of Faith, and not be diverted.

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## CH A P. XXI.

### *Of Death.*

**B**EING at the Rock of Faith we are near to our Journies end, which is *Paradise*, but we cannot come thither without passing a great Gulf, the common passage of all flesh, and yet giving such apprehensions as it is termed φοβερότατον φοβερότατον, *the terrible of terrible*. This is the gulf of Death, which must be passed by all creatures that have life, a Gulf which is the first of *Solomon's* four insatiables, and specified by the name of the Grave, *Prov.* 30. 16. and the most greedy of them. This is a body of black liquid matter, covered with a continual dark mist, to such an height, as neither its own extent, nor any thing beyond it can be discerned but from the Rock of Faith. Death who is Prince of this gulf,

gulf, though he be assured that all shall come to him at last, hath yet some Substitutes or Proveditors abroad, who hasten the approach of all creatures to him, and the chief of all these are War and Sicknes. I must not omit Time, which is the surest but the slowest of them; and I may here insert that Paradox, which hath always been held by me. It is this, That Time scarcely bringeth any to their end, for I conceive that very few live so long (if any do) as they might by nature, since none of any great age pass their days without some disorder in Diet, or otherwise, to shorten their life. But if it were possible for any person to escape such dangers, Time bringeth him in at last. *Siracides* in many words affirmeth Death to be most unwelcome to a person who hath prosperity in all his businesses, but most welcome to the man who is aged and unhappy, *Ecclus.* 41. 1. But it is found sometimes far otherwise in both kinds, for with us persons aged (and miserable enough in their condition) are observed seldom to embrace Death as a friend; and among the *Romans* on the other side, many have chosen death rather than life, without being urged to it by unhappiness. But the strangest example is of *Cocceius Nerva*, a person (as *Tacitus* recordeth) learned, continually conversant with *Tiberius* the Emperour, of plentiful fortunes, and in perfect health of body, who unexpectedly took a resolution to dye, which being made known

known to his Prince, he gave him a visit, and among many other arguments, used this, That it would be dishonourable to him, the Emperour, that a known friend of his should refuse to live, but all this prevailed not with him. The truth is, that daily experience sheweth a general abhorrence of death, whereof the cause is not very easie to be found. It can hardly be the fear of pain accompanying it, for Death, which is a Cessation of the faculties belonging to sense and motion, cometh in a moment that admits no extremity. Can it be the circumstance of Sicknes preceding it? I am perswaded that many (if not most) persons in the way of nature, would willingly embrace them, so as death might not follow, as may appear by what hath been said of persons aged. Those things which are very frequent and visible to us, are for the most part little feared; and so it is with death in active Armies and Cities which have been long infected with Pestilence, where those who express great apprehension of death, are commonly laughed at, even to scorn. This perhaps causeth some to think it strange, that a thing so common and certain should give so much fear; and I confess my self of opinion, that it might be so obvious, as to destroy very far the terror of it, but I conceive it not to be so familiar with us; for though death be ever devouring in the World, yet it cometh not often nor fiercely into Families and

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Neighbourhoods, and when it doth come, the lamentation of Friends for the persons departed, as if they were utterly lost, and without any being, doth much increase unto us the horror of it; which is also too far confirmed by a property in death not admitting any account concerning the deceased; whereas upon all other departures, some account either is, or may be made. The approach of this annihilation, or loss of being, is very terrible to a natural man, as it was with that part of the Heathen which believed not the immortality of the Soul; and I verily think that even here, where Christianity is professed, the number of those who believe a Subsistence after death, is very small, and especially among the vulgar. But the comfort of us Christians is, that all these doubts and difficulties are clearly overcome by Faith; for can any man, who hath faith as a grain of Mustard-seed, doubt a being after death, when the thing hath been proved by our *Saviour* in his person, and when the very foundation of all good arising to us personally by Religion, is grounded upon it? Nay, can any man, who hath but so much of Religion as to believe Divine Providence, doubt of it, when he daily seeth wicked persons prosper and wallow themselves in all kind of plenty, while the Religious are in much poverty, and afflicted even to the very period of their lives? There must therefore be reward and punishment after death, or there can be



no Divine Justice, or Providence. Now let us return to the consideration of our fatal gulf, which is of that nature, as it greedily swallows all things that fall into it; and as for men or women, who come thither poor in faith or altogether without it, and laden with Sin unrepented of, they are presently born down to the bottom, and from thence by a conveyance, unhappily for them provided, they fall into *the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone*, mentioned *Rev. 21. 6.* But contrariwise, the Faithfull having received in the Temple of Holiness from the Angel presiding there, a very extraordinary purification and spirituality for their Souls, no sooner come to be plunged into the liquor of that gulf, but their Souls immediately emerge, and readily finishing their Pilgrimage to Paradise, they are there received and welcomed with all joy and cheartfulness by the Saints, who are already possessed of their Mansion there.

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### *The CONCLUSION.*

OUR Title is *Light in the way to Paradise*, not light within Paradise, for it would be no light there. Nay, the *Sun* it self, with all his rayes, would be useles (or rather darkness) in the presence of the great God,

God, and the Lamb, as in the New *Jerusalem*, *Rev.* 21. 23. Our *Saviour* said to the blessed Thief, *This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise*; and certainly God and the Lamb must be there with a presence extraordinary, which being so, there cannot be the least want of happiness in any kind; yet where all plenty is, a small Vessel cannot receive so much liquor as a larger; and thence we may gather, that after the great resurrection, each particular man, by union of Body and Soul, will be capable of greater felicity, than in his Soul alone. And besides this, the Kingdom of God will not be absolutely complete, till all the Saints be gathered in unto it, and till the *Kingdom be delivered up unto God the Father*, *1 Cor.* 15. 24. I shall therefore set a period to all with an *Adveniat Regnum tuum Domine*, and the usual Doxology.

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*Soli Deo gloria in æternum.*

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TO THE  
READER.

**T**O these following Discourses of mine (or Occasionals as I style them) I have no more to say but this. That if any shall think them worthy of a Perusal, there must not be expected, either Method or curiosity of Expression, for they are no other than a mere after-birth to some of my serious thoughts, which I have thought fit to preserve in being, rather for the satisfaction of my self than of others. For their matter, I have no reason to think that it will receive good entertainment, for in many things I have been far from confining my self to the common received opinions; nay, I have gone cross to very considerable Interests: yet I hope there will be found in them, neither great deviations as to Truth, nor the least offence in relation to any of the fundamental points of Religion. It is true, that I have otherwise given myself a liberty to wander in Writing, and I am very willing that others should do so in Reading, so as they pronounce not against me, till they have received my full sense at the period of each Discourse. As for the last, which is the Doxology, it requires Perfection, as much as Imagination can reach unto, and therefore as it is in it self, it must come short of being satisfactory to my own desires; but the Dedication is such,  
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## To the Reader.

*as where Acceptance is only sought, there it is sure to have a reception according to the purity of Intention at its birth, which could not be much defective in a person, who at that very time was newly delivered, by the mercy of God, from extremity of pain. And so I leave the whole, with every particular discourse, unto a favourable Censure.*

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# OCCASIONALS.

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## I.

**T**Ruth is the best and most satisfactory reward of an industrious Spirit, and he who seeks it must be very circumspect, in search of the right way, and to tread exactly in it: yet they who in the course of their life shall deliberate too much, about the way and end in that kind, will seem unactive, and find themselves almost useless in the world; while others who make more frequent though looser steps, and are content to acquiesce in a probability of truth, may by a fruitfulness in successes

cesses gain a high esteem, and be more serviceable to themselves and to their Generation. For Truth (as the Scripture relates of the God of truth) hath *Nubes & caliginem in circuitu ejus*, in so much as businesses of the active World can afford, neither Industry, nor Time, to dispel and disperse the darkneses which hold her concealed; and therefore though Truth in it self be always clear and perfect, as are Mathematical Rules and grounds, yet all operations like the Mechanical part, are never without imperfection, yet such imperfection as is not perceptible, but by Artists, which are few; and thence it comes, that the results of those persons, who by a quickness of imagination and apprehension, can conceive and return a consequence very probable, do easily pass for the ground of a perfect decision, and render the Authour considerable above others of more solid judgment, for it may be said of Errors as of Vices, *Erratis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille est qui minimis urgetur*, and never yet Workman was Master of a Rule to measure with, that was exactly streight.

## II.

When *Aurelian* had born down all those, who in his time had usurped the Imperial Dignity, and among them the brave *Zenobia*, she being brought into his presence, saluted

him in these terms, *Scio te esse Imperatorem quia vincis, I know thee to be the right Emperour because thou overcomest.* So those, who change their Party to take the stronger side, affirm the cause of the Prevailers to be the better, because favoured by Heaven. Others are so nice (a *French* man would say *ombrageux*) as by no means they will act under a Power, which hath raised it self by the ruine of another that hath had the confirmation of time, though they their selves were never personally engaged in the contest. If these be lovers of Justice, they seem injurious in leaving her to the mercy of her enemies (for such they esteem those, who freely act under a new Magistracy,) assuming to themselves that which God never called private persons to, which is to be Judges of the right belonging to Princes and States. But these men shelter themselves under the authority of matchless *Cato*, who went so far beyond them in their way, as he chose rather to dye, than to submit to a Power newly grown up, though not new in the Nature of it, for *Sylla* had exercised the same in that very age. *Cato's* Constancy, which perhaps *Cicero* his Co-evan and Companion, thought to be Obstinacy, is thus exprest by *Lucan*, to the height, *Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*, which may thus be rendred in *English*,

*That cause which conquers, Heav'n approves,  
But Cato he the conquer'd loves.*

## III.

I have much wonder'd, why the Philosopher *Epicurus* should be so much cried down, for placing the *Summum bonum*, or *chiefest good*, in Pleasure, when a state of pleasure is that which every man (even those of the most refined temper of Heart and Brain) do above all things covet. That state seems to be a description of *Aristotle* his *ἁδαιμονία*, or *Felicity*, truer than his own; and *Plato*'s Idea is no farther acceptable than as it pleaseth. *Mahomet* makes his Paradise to be a place of pleasure, but mistaketh the kind, fixing it upon Sense, which is the thing that causeth his error; for what do our Christian Divines set out Heaven withall but this, that those who are found worthy of it shall be in a constant condition of happiness, or pleasure, the beatifical Vision it self implying but the *ἄκμῃ*, or *height of it*. The Worldling seeks Riches, Honour, and such like, because he supposeth them a means whereby he may be enabled constantly to please himself. And the Good man would not be so frequent in doing good, but that he is either delighted in it for the present, or conceiveth that to be a way to attain to a state of delight. So as among the Philosophers it seemeth to be a *λογομαχία*, or *strife about words*, and no real difference, unless you will say, that the word, Pleasure,

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is more comprehensive in the way of satisfaction, than the terms of *Aristotle* and *Plato*, whereby they would express Felicity, and then that which is intended by it, must of necessity be more desirable. The difference therefore must lie in this, That the sensual person pursueth only momentary, and brutish pleasures, and the wise man those which are permanent. The former, that which being out of his own power, will fly from him, and the latter, that which (to speak in a Philosophical way) he can master. The one searcheth for pleasure in external things, and the other makes sure of it within himself. For my part, I think there cannot be an assertion more destructive to Vertue and Goodness, than that which shall deliver the delight by outward things, to exceed the satisfaction which is formed within. That by externals doth for the most part carry with it a whip, which punisheth either with satiety, or with a sudden change (for so it must be) in the want of the thing which was overmuch delighted in. This other, even when there is some bodily pain inflicted for Goodness-sake, yet carrieth with it a mixture of inward satisfaction or pleasure for the present, and finds another in the vacuity of pain when it is ended, and is always accompanied with the expectation of a reward to come. But as for Sensual pleasures, may it not be doubted whether or no the use of them be lawfull at all? It is the  
obser-



observation of *Charron*, as I take it, that all Religions, as well the true, as those which are false, lay it for a foundation, that the Deity is delighted in voluntary punishments imposed by the Votary upon himself for Religions sake, and Christian Divines require a frequent application of them in a constant course of Mortification, and more especially in the Heremitical way among the *Roman Catholics* and others. Surely this must arise from a common consent among all, that God is distasted with a frequent using corporeal pleasures, and therefore bends the staff of Nature the contrary way; yet surely even such pleasures are lawfull, or else they would not be used as a means to accomplish that which is necessary, for were it not accompanied with pleasure, we should not eat, drink, nor doe some other things without which Mankind can neither be preserved nor propagated. Such pleasure may therefore be used, and I know not how better to give a rule for barring the excess, than to compare them to Honey or Sweet-meats, which being taken moderately, give delight and temper, but used immoderately, they fill the whole body with Choler and Bitterness.

## IV.

It is no wonder, if those who have either erroneous or wicked principles, do extremely multiply

multiply to themselves Obliquities in the course of their life. The truth of this may appear most clearly in the Art of *Arithmetique*, where if there be never so little error in the rule, or grounds laid, it becomes infinitely encreased in the operations; and may not this have an Application Political, as well as Ethical, with a confusion of face upon them, who are not ashamed to own it as their design, to take away all the ancient, and to lay new foundations of Government; not considering how impossible it is for the first founders of a Commonwealth, to fore-see all the inconveniences which may arise, even by virtue of their own fundamentals, to the endangering of the whole frame? but these men will pretend erroneous grounds not to be so destructive, and this upon a supposition, that as it was with *Theseus* his Ship at *Athens*, all may be securely changed piece by piece, according to the direction of new Reformers instructed by experience, till the whole Vessel become quite other than it was at first: but it is not so with States, which lie not as that Ship did, without motion, but are always in danger by Wind and Waves, as hath been testified with great hazards in these our days, where the taking down of the main and principal Pillar hath brought a great and flourishing Monarchy to the very brink of Anarchy and Confusion. Upon that occasion of great change, Monarchy hath been much exploded in respect of Popular Governments,  
but

but this (and infinitely more) may be said for it, That it is the best Government for Union, and to prevent Insurrections and Intestine Broils, which cannot be so well done without secrecy and a speedy execution of that which is resolved, a thing hard to be effected where the Counsellours are many, having each of them a share in the supreme Power. To this may be added, That a Prince assuming to himself a propriety in the Regal power, is not so apt to be prest upon by the people, as persons elected by themselves, having no pretence of being employed but in the right of others. On the other side it is said that Oppression is more frequent in Monarchies, than in Popular States, and the truth is, That the heavy hand of Princes often falleth upon great persons who give them jealousy; yet never was there any Prince, who either made or countenanced a Law, to persecute Eminent Persons merely for their vertue, as the *Athenians* did by their Ostracism. But the principal argument for Monarchy is this, That the Government is best settled so, to continue without any great change, for ambitious Spirits set themselves more to work in Common-wealths, especially such as are Democratical, with a design to advance and establish their own Greatness, which is no way so well accomplished as by bringing the present Government into confusion, and then turning it into Monarchy; so as the materials

rials of a Fever are always ready, and seldom it is, that a fire is not kindled, and then the people wearied with calamity and terror, are glad to put themselves under the protection of him who hath most Power, and by that means he becomes their Prince, as may appear by the *Roman* and other Popular Commonwealths. To this may be said, that particular persons are as ambitious, industrious, and dangerous in Monarchies, as in other Governments, and so it is; but there for the most part (whatsoever may be pretended for the present till the strength be raised) their aim is only to change the Person, and not the Government, which is effected, as very often hapned to the *Roman* Emperours, without any great Concussion as to the Fundamentals, so as Monarchy still remains firm. I cannot deny, that some *Aristocratical* Commonwealths, as those of *Sparta* and *Venice*, have been famous both for Greatness of Dominion, and time of Continuance, but none like the latter, which I can attribute to nothing more than this, That the People have no part in the Government, and that the Senators admit not any to command the Military Power for length of time, which together with severe punishments usually inflicted upon ambitious and dangerous persons, hath almost miraculously preserved their Commonwealth. The like observation cannot be made of *Democracies*; yet for States (as some there are) whose territories

tories are small, extending not much farther than Cannon-shot from the City Walls, a Popular Government may be most natural, for all may be defended by the Natives themselves, without leaving their ordinary way of subsistence by Mechanique professions; and so it was with *Rome* in her infancy, and with divers Cities of *Greece* and *Italy*, and it is so now in many places; but where there must be a standing Army, whose way of Government is always Monarchical, and whose affections cannot but incline that way, it is impossible almost but advantage will be taken some time or other by the chief Commander, to build his own greatness upon the ruines of the Commonwealth, which may be proved by very many Precedents. But not having intended any large Discourse, and the same matter having been largely handled by others, I shall set a period, contenting my self, *Hausisse ex magno flumine guttam, With one drop taken out of a great river.*

## V.

As the Essence of things resideth in their substance, so their outward operations receive their being from Quality, nor can there be any exercise of those operations but by that means. It is not the iron of the Hammer or Anvile that bruisseth or formeth, nor the steel of the Knife that cutteth, but the weight, hardness,

hardness, and edge which produceth those effects, and for the most part it is the figure of Instruments that becomes operative. The truth is, that all which we see, hear, tast, smell, or feel, is quality and nothing but quality, by which the subtil *Roman* Doctors do securely (as they think) assert their supposed great mystery of Transubstantiation (or change of the substance of the Elements in the *Eucharist* with continuance of the old accidents,) and could they prove the change of Substance necessary in Religion, the unexposedness of all substances to sense is such, as their sharpness of wit would then seem to merit as much at the hands of Truth, as now it appears subservient to Opinion. To this may be objected, for vindication of Substances, the maxim in Philosophy, that *Omnis actio provenit a forma*, which is meant of essential forms; and that these Inanimate instruments, notwithstanding their figure or other quality whatsoever, are but *nervus alienis mobilia*, and cannot effect any thing considerable, without the influence and direction of some intellectual agent such as the Soul of Man, which Philosophy delivers to be a physical substance, and one of the perfectest of them. But this doth rather confirm than overthrow my observation, that all external action ariseth immediately from quality and not from substance, for the Soul it self, notwithstanding its perfection, cannot act but by the qualities and accidents of

of the Body, nothing being more known than this, That the operations of the Soul are weakned, as the dimensions, form, and other qualifications of the principal organical parts of the body come to decline. This may bring to consideration, that a solidity of judgment, which I may term the substantial part of the mind, is little better than *inutile pondus*, if by the imagination it have not an edge set upon it, which imagination like a nimble Pleader, sets in order before it the essentials and circumstantials of the business which is to be determined, and so by forming a quickness of Apprehension, infinitely facilitates and improves the number of its decisions. And perhaps it may not be altogether improper to observe, that the true Religion it self is not so incompatible with Ceremony (though but a shadow in comparison,) as some men learned and good have affirmed, having found the excess of Ceremony always accompanied with Superstition, for otherwise the Sacraments (those blessed Seals of our remission and future happiness) would not borrow so much of their subsistence from Form, as to the visible part of them. To this may be added, that Princes and States govern as much by opinion of Power, as by the reality of it, and experience hath shewed us in these latter days, that an extreme contempt of Formality in Civils and Spirituals, is a ready way to confusion, which is the destroyer of all Society.

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But for a conclusion to this Discourse, Adventitious things are so connatural to Essentials, as if you could deprive Vertue her self of her ornaments it may be well thought, that like an undrest Lady she would stir but little abroad.

## VI.

That which we call Right or Property among men, whether sovereign or subordinate, is always derived from a liberty left to them by God to dispose of outward things by common consent, saving when it pleaseth the Divine Majesty in a way immediate and miraculous to give and declare a right, as he did in the land of Promise to the people of *Israel*, and frequently afterwards to their Princes by an extraordinary unction. Upon such consent is grounded Magistracy, and all just power whatsoever, except the Paternal, which is merely natural. But how far the Paternal power extendeth it self beyond the government of Children in minority, it is very hard to define, especially among Christians. Yet that power whatsoever it is, and the filial reverence and observance due to Parents, is as well perpetual as natural, and cannot be extinguished justly by decree of any Magistrate whatsoever, if the Parent be *Compos mentis*. As Magistracy, so municipal Laws have no other Basis or Foundation than common consent, which consent is had, as well by an im-

memorial



memorial submission to such Magistracy, as by any constitution made by Representatives. As for *meum* and *tuum* between this and that private man, the external right is alterable by judgment of the established Magistrate. But the supreme Magistracy seemeth not extinguishable, but by a decree of the whole People, which is supposed when no Dissent appears. It is most certain, that the full, perpetual and independent power in all kinds is onely belonging to the fountain of all power, which is of God himself; who as he hath neither superiour nor equal, so he cannot be bound but to himself, nor can any of his acts be subject to other jurisdiction. And wheresoever God (as to *David* and divers others) shall make promise of any benefit, the promise gives onely assurance to the person, or body to whom the promise is made, but it transfers no right against the Creator, whose dominion (as well as his power) is not to be limited. It is conceived too often by men of an active and enterprising nature, that God by putting power into their hands against their supreme Magistrate, hath designed a change there, and will use them as chief Instruments, but it falleth out as often, that destruction is the conclusion, where presumption is the argument. It is true, that sometimes the longed-for change is wrought, which sheweth the effect to be of Divine Providence, but it happens seldom or never, that the chief

agents fail of their own ruine, though it come to them with leaden feet. For my part I conceive clearly, that God's revealed will requires a submission to a just Magistracy, and therefore if there be not either an evident consent in the universality of the People, or a divine Call of some Reformer confirmed by unquestionable miracles, it must be unsafe to step out of that fair, even, and known way, which hath ever been approved of by the best of God's people.

## VII.

It hath afforded me sometimes matter of no small admiration, to find in my self, and others, lovers of freedom, a desire (and not without some violence) of being in a state of height and greatness, exacting a course no ways squaring with our natural inclinations, and such as for that only cause would become an eternal springing fountain of vexation to us. I take this to be Vanity in the highest degree, and one of the scourges of the most High. The folly of it may appear in this, that our so much prized freedom would be utterly lost in such a way; outward freedom by a continual obtrusion of business, even at times most unseasonable to us in point of health and otherwise, and inward freedom by an inforcement of compliance in things no way to be approved of by a judicious and ingenuous

genuous spirit. It may be said that independent greatness hath an exemption from such inward and outward molestations, or at least inforcements, but such independency is an herb that groweth not in the garden of Nature; for no greatness, how despotical soever, can be supported but by the affections and ends of others, which must be complied with and served, or else the Sceptre toucheth ground. There is a testimony given to this truth by the frequent changes of Governments and Governours in all ages, but most abundantly (as an evidence more than sufficient) in the History of the *Roman* Emperours, where the least discontent or misunderstanding in the Souldiery, did for the most part set a period to the Prince's life and Empire. But perhaps freedom may be found in a course of subordinate Magistracy, or of absolute Privacy. With me it is hard to determine, which is more deprived of it, Magistracy or an immediate Servile condition. The latter wants it absolutely in the outward way, but it is seldom afflicted with that self-condemnation, which for the most part accompanieth the former. But for an estate of Privacy, could it be such as were exempt from imposing and being imposed upon, it were much to be envied, but yet it must not (cannot) enjoy that means of serving God and good men, by the exercise of many moral Vertues, which a more eminent condition affordeth. And I must acknowledge that this

last consideration doth in a manner shake the whole frame of my Discourse, for we are not born onely for our selves; and therefore though for some reasons relating to the present *επιχειρημα*, or *conjecture*, I my self forbear to exercise the Magistracy whereto I stand called, yet I dare not condemn a desire of power and greatness in others, but onely when it ariseth from the vanity of self-love upon misunderstanding. And this desire (like envy) will still be the greater punishment to it self the more it increaseth, but the misery attains not its full perfection, till the desire comes to be drowned in the fruition which was mistaken for happiness.

## VIII.

Religion is the serving of some Deity in such a way, as the votary conceiveth that his Deity would be served. It stands opposed to Atheism, which is a belief that there is no such thing as a Divine Power. Morality differs from it as a Prince's general Law doth from the attendance required on his Person, and especial services relating to that. He who is a neglecter of the Prince's Law, will hardly be accepted of to attend on his person; but he who onely applies himself to an observance of the Law, shall never merit any reward from the Prince. Profaneness is the contempt of Divine Service, and Superstition is a way of

of service full of pomp and affectation, but altogether without warrant. I cannot say of Religions as of Governments, better any than none, for some Religions (or rather Superstitions) have such obscene Rites, and so full of Cruelty, as either Atheism or Profaneness are much less to be abhorred. In the choice of a Religion (if there were need of choice) I should always avoid those, whose Rites are repugnant to the known rules of Morality. It is true that a Prince's personal occasions do many times require a departing from his common Laws, but it is far otherwise with God, who can effect any of his decrees in a just way, and needs no such deviations. To follow the Similitude a little farther, Princes esteem and reward onely such as come to their service for affection to their person, and not for ends of advantage to themselves, and they require a forsaking of all (even of Life it self) in their Servants, when their own honour, dignity, or safety requires it; and this sheweth how connatural self-denial is to Religion. All Religions require a belief that there is such a Deity, and that the way of serving him is such and such; but a Faith so voluminous and explicite as is contained in our modern Catechisms, and a knowledge so universal as is now exhorted to in the Pulpit, was never required in any Age but this, and can be no more necessary than it would be for a Subject (because he is bound to have a high esteem

of his Master) to believe by way of Inventory all the exactnesses of his outward features, and of the inward perfections of his mind, though the ground of such belief were to be compassed by a rude search for the outward, and an uncivil pressing in way of conversation for the inward excellencies. To conclude, All Religions require reverence internal and external to the Deity, and all Religions require sincerity of heart in the Divine Service. The true Religion (besides these) requires chastity and sobriety in the Votary, and a desire to doe all possible good to Mankind, and to every particular person as far as it may stand with God's honour, and publique society.

## IX.

I have found by experience this to be infallibly true, That no perfection is wrought but by complying with (and improving on) natural propensions, and that the endeavour of altering, or much forcing Nature, is ever dangerous, and many times wholly destructive. Thus the Art of Physick is drawn to subvert the health of many natural bodies, sometimes by labouring to alter the Complexion or Tincture, and sometimes by seeking not to allay, but to extirpate an ingenerate Melancholy, or sadness of Spirit. Thus some men thinking to render themselves more capable of business by very much abstinence, do  
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by a mistake of the measure, procure to themselves unawares, the unhappy diseases caused by inanition, which are scarcely curable. In the exercise of Moral virtues, a tenacious man will never delight in (or will govern) a continued work of Magnificence, though it be at another man's charge, for *Quorsum perditæ hæc?* or *To what purpose is this waste?* will still flutter in his thoughts to the deforming, if not defacing, of the whole; whereas the same man might be successfully employed by a Prince, to sit at the Stern about the retrenching of his superfluous expences. *Alexander the Great* would never have blunted the violence of *Hannibal's* victorious Army, nor *Fabius Maximus* have conquered the World. In matters Civil, call a contemplative man (though of admirable parts in his own way) to the government of a Nation, and he himself will be in continual pain, and his Subjects in perpetual danger of confusion. The fire on his right hand will be ready to consume him, before he hath sufficiently considered and resolved how to quench that on the left. On the other side, let an active man be kept in continual retirement, and he will torment himself with his own thoughts, till even Shadows become a terreur to him, and he will many ways encrease vexation to himself, till in all probability he become his own destroyer. From hence may be raised a powerfull argument against Hereditary Monarchies, but the well

well known confusion of Popular, and corruption of Aristocratical elections, together with the contempt which men are apt to have of creatures of their own making, may keep the ballance at the least even. For conclusion, Nothing can be perfectly done, *invita Minerva*, or *Cross to the person's inclination*; and *Id unumquemque decet maxime quod est ejusque maxime*. That becomes every man best which is most natural to him.

I have read in an Italian Writer of some estimation to this effect; That a desire and endeavour of attaining fulness of power over others, is very commendable, because it giveth men some measure of likeness unto God, the fountain of all perfection, one of whose chief attributes is his Omnipotence. The assertion admits of some justification, as I conceive, but not the reason, for though we may take God for our pattern, in respect of his Ethical or Intellectual excellences (if I may so call them,) yet it savours too much of the Luciferian presumption, to bear an emulating eye in the least measure, either towards his glory or his power. And as to the desire of power, the edge of it may be somewhat abated in the lovers of Virtue and Goodness, when they take into consideration, that a state of morality shall always want that infinite wisdom,



and purity of intention, which resideth in the Deity, and which makes power to consist in-  
abusively only there, as in its proper sphere.  
For that power which men enjoy, is none of  
their own, and they must yield an account to  
the true Proprietary, not only of the use, but  
of the very having of it. And as among men,  
he who in a way of violence and illegality,  
possesseth himself of that which is the proper-  
ty of another, (though his equal or inferiour)  
becomes an offender against the Civil Ma-  
gistrate; so it is, but much more unpardon-  
able in relation to the Deity so infinitely tran-  
scending our capacity, with those who assume  
Power to themselves in an unwarrantable  
manner. I doubt not but Divines will step  
in further, and assert, that a mere desire of  
Power, with a sinister intention, is no small sin;  
and what may it then be to desire, assume,  
and use Power corruptly? The true end of all  
external power can be no more than this, To  
propagate the peace and happiness of Man-  
kind, and every individual person, as far as  
may be done without a more publique prej-  
udice: and from hence it comes, that a desire  
of rewarding becomes more natural to a noble  
nature, than of punishing, (though an approach  
may be made even to the latter with cheer-  
fulness of Spirit,) for Remunerations answer  
to both parts of the above-mentioned end;  
whereas Punitive Justice for the present satif-  
fieth only, the former bringing with it always  
harm

harm to the offending person, and sometimes ruine total and final; yet as I said, this may be proceeded in with comfort, because the extirpation of one may be a means of reforming many; and sometime there is no other way to save them from destruction, and that not only by terrour in the example, but by prevention of ruinous and destructive designs inherent in (or affixed to) the person of him who is cut off. But that Magistrate, who useth severity to torment or destroy the offender with any intention whatsoever, other than those above-specified, either with *Pilate* sells the indolence and safety of others for favour and particular advantage, or out of a mere Satanical spirit, takes delight in the sufferings of others, and at the best, makes the hand of Justice to become (upon personal provocation) an instrument of Revenge, which is the peculiar of him, who hath said *Ἐμὸν ἐκδίκημας*, or *Vengeance is mine*; so as men can have no other part in it than to become instruments, and are no otherwise justified in being so, than either by the rules of God's revealed Will express'd in the written Word, or by some immediate and miraculous Precept from him. For my part, though I conceive it to be the strongest of temptations to an active and knowing Spirit, to be courted by an opportunity of having great power over others; Yet I shall rather choose to become the mark (or Anvile, if you will) of injurious power, than

than to exasperate my Creator either by an usurpation, or by the revengefull use of so dangerous a weapon.

## XI.

Ever since our first Father *Adam* sought to palliate his first transgression, by laying upon another the iniquity which proceeded chiefly from the determination of his own will, we of his Posterity have applied our selves to doe the like; and for the most part when better evidence fails us, we lay the crime to the charge of Fortune, who very fitly by the Fabulist is represented with a great Complaint in her mouth upon that occasion. Among the Heathens, *Fortune* was esteemed a Goddess, and with us Christians she is little less, if rightly understood; for what squareth better with the notion meant by Fortune, than the providence of God, which being one of his chief attributes, is hardly severed from his person? We should therefore be very carefull not to make complaint in that kind, considering the person against whom our complaint is levelled; nor to doe like some men who bewail the defects of their geniture, and the circumstances belonging to it, (for thus all men may become Complainers, as wanting some natural advantages which others enjoy,) nor like to some others, who to excuse their own folly, for yielding to temptations in the way

way of excess by which their body or estate is impaired or ruined, lay all the blame on Fortune. Certainly complaints of this nature can be no other than a high provocation of the Almighty, who hath the absolute dominion over his creatures; for no temporal thing is necessary, if the want of it be not an absolute hindrance to the end whereunto the vessel (to use *St. Paul's* expression) is designed, which design is only known to the Creator. Neither are worldly wisdom, riches, power, and such like, any ways necessary to the attaining of the chief end of our life, for there is as ready a way to it from the lowest condition as from the highest: and if so, then why do we complain? It was the opinion of some Philosophers, that the Deity doth not at all mind the businesses of this World; but their opinion is so far from truth, as the slightest things (or at least many of them) seem to be decreed. *Saul* was chosen by God to be King of *Israel*, and was not the straying of his Father's Asses designed a means of bringing him to the presence of *Samuel*, for the effecting of it? A seeming casual spark falleth into a magazine of Gun-powder, which is occasion of the loss of a Kingdom, and can this be thought to pass without a Divine Providence? Some men understand it as a thing derogatory to the Deity to order trivial things (which causeth the scoff of profane *Lucian* upon *Jupiter*, as entertaining himself

self with the painting of Butterflies,) but the consequences of things trivial are not always slight, though conceived so by us, who are no less ignorant of effects as they relate to their causes, than of causes as they relate to their effects. And certainly to order and govern the Universe, with all the seeming casualties in it, can be no derogation to the Deity; for to say truth, we cannot conceive rightly of God, without believing his infinite wisdom and power to comprehend and penetrate all things, together with their causes and effects, and also that his government of the whole is effected with more facility, than the wisest man can order the clearest and easiest matters. The truth is, that this Providence is always at work, and that humane wisdom and folly do but cooperate with it. As for us, these may either yield us a justification, or aggravate against us, but the effect is always steered by providence. *The race is not to the swift, saith Solomon, nor the battle to the strong, &c.* but time and chance (or the effects of Providence) come alike to all. It is most evident among Gamesters, that the money is many times lost by playing that which is clearly best; and so it falleth out in matters of greatest concernment: And fit it is that it should be so, for humane wisdom might justly boast it self against Providence, if the common saying were true, *Sapiens dominabitur astris, A wise man shall over-rule the*

*the Stars.* What is then to be said, shall we omit the using of those parts which God hath given us, because the issue of things is not in our power? This were to heap up condemnation to our selves against the latter day. Rather let us, but in a more general sense, take up the resolution of *Joab*, Captain of *David's* Hoast, who spake thus to his Army before a battel (which exhortation of his hath always passed with me for most precious, and shall be the conclusion of this discourse.) *Be of good courage, and let us play the Men for our People, and for the Cities of our God, and let the Lord doe what seemeth him good.*

## XII.

Of all my inward conflicts, none hath appeared more like an Earth-quake in shaking the whole frame of my nature, than that which raised it self upon the consideration of (and sitting down under) some pressures carrying with them a constant deprivation of outward freedom; which freedom, though in it self but a kind of privation, yet hath been always too far considered by me as the ground of external happiness. On the other side, my sufferance was urged by the remembrance of some moral Precepts, which nevertheless did not so captivate my reason, as to suppress all thought of an Emancipation, as far as it should come to be in my power. Yet in  
this,

this, by means of a most powerfull Illumination and strength from above, I have extricated my self and overcome my inclination; for by the light of those rayes it clearly appeared to me, that my Fetters were neither framed by Man, nor put upon me by any subordinate power, neither had my own folly contributed to that kind of servitude. All was wrought by a Divine hand, and seemed to be fitted and designed to me by the same, for I could not discern that the like (as to the most important circumstances) had been fixed upon any other person whatsoever. This made me to esteem it a sin of Infidelity against the Divine Wisedom, either to think it unfit or to repine at it, and an offence worse than Rebellion to struggle for Liberty, farther than it was intended to me by that wisdom. Especially, since the better freedom (which is that of the mind) is no ways limited, and since I my self have been experimentally taught, that the bitter cup of Affliction is no less healthfull, than the tempting baits of Prosperity are dangerous.

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## DOXOLOGY,

JANUARY the 8th. 1655.

**L**ET Princes, Potentates, and the exalted of the People, despise their Crowns, condemn their earthly honours, and with all humility cast themselves down before the throne of the great God of heaven and earth.

Let the poorest, weakest, and most depressed part of the people, whose abject and penurious condition seemeth to have its being only like a Foil to set off the eminency of others, let these raise their heads and be exalted to a kind of equality, that they may fitly bear a part in the great Quire at the general acclamation of Glory.

Let the multitude and universality of People, Nations, and Languages, prepare themselves (as far as the narrow capacity of their nature will admit) to trumpet forth the infinite and incomparable praises of the Lord.

Let all these with united voice, magnifie the Name of the Omniscient and Omnipotent Father

*of Eternity; of the spotless Lamb, that ever springing and inexhaustible fountain of Redemption, and of the blessed Spirit that always diffusing (yet ever abounding) treasure of holiness and comfort.*

*Let the whole Universe be astonished at the presence of that great God, to whose all-piercing eye the secrets of Man's stony heart lie as open, as the heart and all other things do to the influences of his wisdom and power. Whose justice exalts it self in the ruine of those proud ones, that seem to arrogate to themselves a kind of Divinity, in thinking their own increase of Glory and Advantage to be the only fit object of all their intentions and actions. Who with the arms of his tender mercy, embraceth all such persons, as by a penitent self-denial bewail the infirmity of their nature, and cast themselves for relief into the gracious arms of their Redeemer. Who as he created all things of nothing, so he always raiseth good out of the greatest evil, and by an infallible providence (though we see it not) leaveth the iniquity of sinfull actions upon the heads of the workers, which still presseth them down towards their destruction, albeit they seem to prosper in their wicked courses.*

*Who only esteems the holy Spirituality of the persons that act in this vale of misery, and hath prepared an exceeding and eternal weight of Glory for those who love him.*

*Who also at this time of so great need, hath*  
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*condescended to behold and compassionate the misery and torments of (and also to relieve) his poor sinfull Servant, a person so far from dreaming of any thing that might seem to be merit in himself, as he desireth to appear in his own thoughts, as the off-scouring of the Creation, yet he cannot but throw this poor mite into the treasury of his Creator's praises.*

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# APPENDIX

TO THE

## OCCASIONALS.

**H**AVING past my Climacterical in the year of our Lord 1666, ( a year supposed to contain periods of great importance as to publick Revolutions ) I may well think that my own dissolution will speedily overtake me, and therefore more than time it is, thoroughly to consider the condition of my better part, and in the consideration to abstract it from matter, as far as may be, while it is united with the body. And this is best effected, as I conceive, by a view of the Soul's principal faculties, which are the Understanding, and the Will, for these two may choose for their object things infinite,

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having no relation to matter. The Understanding is conversant about eternal truths, and the Will hath no proper and perfect aim but at everlasting happiness. The maxim *Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu*, can hardly hold water, for the Soul it self (as a distinct and immaterial substance) is not exposed to sense, and can mentally discourse concerning its own faculties; as also take into consideration the Divine essence and attributes, whereof Creatures, having perfect sense and wanting reason, or the complete use of it, cannot take notice, being incapable of any notion of Eternity. But in this enquiry, we must not exclude the more imperfect objects, many of which are common to Man with other creatures, that so we may extract what is peculiar to the immortal Soul. The general object of the Intellect is Truth, and that of the Will, Goodness. Truth is the more general, and trencheth upon goodness, for that such a thing is good or evil is a subject of truth, and it is not easie to conceive how the Will should make choice, but according to dictates of the Understanding. Yet election is peculiar to the Will, in which respect it seemeth to have the preheminence, as the Prince is above his Council. And to prove the Will more absolute, some object the saying of *Medea, Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*, *I see the better and choose the worse*, and also that which is usual with other  
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women, *I will, because I will*; from which they would infer, that the Will determineth either contrary to the Understanding, or without it. To the former of these may be answered, That the Understanding representeth the thing fit to be done, for present satisfaction of the appetite, though Morally or Theologically evil, and so the brutish part prevaileth; and to the latter, that the Intellect interveneth, but the dictates of it are somewhat like to that resolution given by the *Persian* Counsellors, who when asked by their King (*Cambyfes*, as I take it) in love with his Sister, *if any of their Laws admitted a man to marry his Sister* ? answered Negatively, but said, *There was a Persian Law which declared that their King might doe what pleased him.* Yet in some things the Intellect is absolute, as in the decision of doubt in matters merely theoretical, and certainly the exercise of this faculty is one of the greatest delights that Man's nature is capable of, having little or nothing of sense belonging to it, and may be termed a shadow of the contemplative satisfaction, which is ascribed to the Deity it self. Thus much as to the faculties themselves, and now more particularly concerning their peculiar objects.

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*Of TRUTH.*

**G**OD is the God of Truth, nay truth it self in the perfection of it, and therefore we must not marvail if such truth (offer'd at in the Metaphysicks) be inscrutable. I shall therefore confine my self to secondary and subordinate truths, which I conceive to be of three kinds; Truth of the object, Truth conceiv'd in the mind, and Truth exprest. The first may be defined, A congruence of things with their prototype or first figure, and hath no opposite but every variation privative or positive from that first figure. The knowledge of this truth is so foreign to matters of common interest, as the world is little troubled about it. Truth in the mind is a congruence of the thing with the understanding, and Errour is diametrically opposite to it, but neither can this make any tumult till the matter be conceived in terms. Truth exprest is congruence of words with a right conception in the mind, and when this appears upon the stage of the World, there is an immediate arming preparatory to battel, if the thing be not demonstrable, and trenches upon any considerable interest. This is (as it were)



were) the vehicle or chariot of Truth, without which it passeth not from man to man, neither is there any publick search after truth, for without terms there can be no disputation. That Truth be covered with so much obscurity, as to the conception of it, may seem strange, since every affirmation or negation in present, is not only true or false, but demonstratively so in it self, if the causes were not hidden. We are apt to cry out upon Providence for this, especially where the knowledge of such truth is thought necessary. Indeed our own Intellects are defective though we do not readily confess it, God having given so general satisfaction in the portions of wit distributed among the Sons of men, as every man is well opinion'd of his own share; but the Divine Wisdom is clearly justified, for were all truths evident to Man's understanding, it would not only set an undervalue upon truth, but Man would swell himself with pride even to a bursting. It is therefore much better that so much lieth concealed, for by that means becoming conscious of our own infirmity and defects, we have full cause to humble our selves, and being grown thankful for what we have, to place our whole dependence upon the Deity with entire submission. As for Truth, such as may be compassed, it is obtained in a way either ordinary or extraordinary. The extraordinary is the more noble, as coming by Divine revelation or inspiration,

piration, either immediately confirmed by miracles, as anciently by *Moses* and the Prophets under the Law, and in most excellency by our *Saviour* under the Gospel ( which way is now rather pretended to than had, and is unsafe to be trusted to ) or mediately by testimony of Holy Writ, and by this means Faith is generated, which layeth most firm and indissoluble hold upon Souls ingenuous and pious. Truth in the way ordinary comes by search of necessary consequences, but most unquestionably (or rather satisfactorily) by the knowledge of causes, and scarcely to any persons, but such as are possessors of a natural sagacity of mind, if the matter be of any subtle consideration. It is true that rules delivered by Logicians may be usefull in such an enquiry and judgment, and because they are so, I shall not think it loss of time to touch upon that Art. Its proper object seems, by their usual definition rather to be probability than Truth, yet their demonstrations are delivered as proofs infallible, which of necessity must include truth. As for their demonstration δι' αἰτίας, by the immediate and necessary causes efficient or final, it is almost useless, for such causes are more latent than necessary effects and consequences, and infinitely more truths are found by means of the latter, than former, though without perfect knowledge of the immediate causes, which is not altogether necessary for the finding of truth.

truth. Neither are their rules concerning fallacies so usefull, for scarcely will an ingenious person (though altogether unskill'd in Logick) be deluded by fallacies, which is the reason that the late Innovator in that Art, hath wholly left out the doctrine of Fallacies, as also that of Demonstrations. And notwithstanding all said to the contrary, the Circle is not avoided, when there is a reciprocal proof by causes and effects. As for conclusions arising, neither upon principles of Faith, nor from necessary premises (which is termed opinion) the mind of an ingenious person never acquiesces in them. I confess there are rules much conducing to the indagation and determination of truth, and I shall adventure to deliver some few of them, which as I conceive, may be sufficient for a person fitly disposed for the business. As first, Where the foundation is laid at the object, let the senses be rightly disposed, and there must be a fit *medium* between that and the organ or instrument of sense. Secondly, In truth express (or pretended truth) let the terms of the assertion or negation, be univocal, and not carrying a double sense. Thirdly, Admit no argument which ariseth not from things infallibly known. Fourthly, Let not distinctions be received, but where they are needfull, nor in terms either ambiguous or unknown, as some persons sufficiently learned, have used in their definition of truth, terms of as abstruse (if not  
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more abstruse) consideration, than truth it self. Fifthly, Let not more be admitted in the conclusion than was in the premisses. And lastly, Let no testimony be received in matters concerning Divine Truth, unless contained in holy Scripture, which is the only infallible ground of belief, according to all the ancient Fathers and Councils, and till these latter times, wherein some Politicians, to cover their errors, have advanced their Church to be above Scripture, that so they may be judged only by themselves. As for a full discovery of Truth, my application shall ever be to the God of Truth blessed for ever, with whose name this discourse made its entry.

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### *Of GOODNESS.*

**I** Dare not presume to treat of that transcendent Goodness, eternal and infinite, peculiar to the Deity, farther than as it is the source (or rather vast ocean) from whose effluence all inferiour goodness receives its being; nor shall my subject be Beatitude that *Summum bonum* of the Philosopher, which a heathen Poet could affirm not to be compatible with man in this vale of misery, but of that subordinate goodness which is the proper object

object of Man's will while he liveth here. And this goodness is so transfused, as it affords matter to be coveted, not only by man, but by all sensitive creatures, and perhaps even plants cannot be excluded, since it is apparent by divers motions of theirs that they have a faculty of approaching to, or declining things beneficial or hurtfull to their constitution. Of necessity therefore there must be some goodness relating merely to Man, and to him in respect of his nobler part, which is indued with reason in the perfection of it, if not with sole reason, as most believed among the ancient Philosophers. This secondary goodness, which is the common object, not only of the will, but of the appetite, may (as I conceive) bear this description. Goodness is the condition of a Subject, which renders it capable of being coveted, according to right reason. And it may be distinguished into goodness natural, and goodness moral. From goodness natural no natural body can be excluded, it being desirable in some respect or other. They are all usefull if the use were known, for the infinite wisdom hath not created any thing that is absolutely evil. Time hath made this evident by finding out the medicinal use of so many kinds of Herbs, Minerals, Amulets, Insects, Entrails of Beasts, &c. and no doubt there is, but all matter (not excluding poysonous creatures, and the very Atoms,) and every species of Creatures, is so necessary, as  
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the World would be defective without them, which proves it self in some measure, by the changes of matter, there being no annihilation, but a continual vicissitude by mutual generation and corruption. Goodness moral may be distinguished into Goodness complete, and incomplete. Goodness complete is that which never causeth evil but by accident, as the prime moral vertues, the chief intellectual habits, &c. relating chiefly, if not only, to the mind. Goodness incomplete is that which is not only instrumental, but many times an incitement to evil, as that in life, riches, power, pleasure, &c. of that nature, some of which are frequently refused by wise men. Of the former kind no sensitive creature hath the least knowledge, and *de ignotis nulla cupidō*. Of the latter, which goodness is most sensual, they are so far from not being covetous, as all the entertainment of their life is in pursuit of some of them. And so it is with men, who permit their brutish part to govern. But these may be lawfully used by men, or else they could not be accounted good, or be rightly termed blessings, for it is only in the excess that they are bestial. And they are of such nature, as their opposites are not *mala in se*, though inflicted as punishments, for poverty, pain, and death it self, may become instrumental for good. And may not some man say, that Sin it self (the worst of evils) is a cause of penitence, for there could be no repen-

repentance if there were no sin, but indeed sin is only a necessary antecedent, and no more a cause of penitence, than the robbing and wounding of the poor Traveller in the Gospel was cause of the good *Samaritan's* charity. As for moral Goodness, I shall add no more but this; That perfect goods are not exposed to chance, or violence, for no man can be deprived of them against his will unless he be unman'd by the total loss of reason, or weakned in great measure by some accident, as to the use of it, and as a conclusion concerning moral goodness, I may recommend this rule, to direct in choice of that kind of goodness. That which hath not a good end, (or intention) is not good in it self, but a good intention cannot make that which is evil, to become good. Lastly, There is a goodness spiritual, most precious of all, which I consider, not as a species of goodness inherent, but as a supernatural perfection no ways arising from us, but coming to us, thorough the passion and merits of our ever blessed *Saviour*, and continually flowing in many streams from the infinite and inexhaustible fountain, or ocean of goodness before mentioned; and having influence only upon the soul of man, offering it self to all, and purifying in such a way those who accept it, as renders them not only capable, but assured of everlasting Beatitude, which next to the honouring of God, is the chief end of our life and being.

NOW having finished this brief discourse concerning the prime faculties of the Soul, and their proper objects, I cannot but be swallowed up in admiration, finding that Man, endued with such excellent functions, should permit Sensuality to obliterate Reason. Where are all the golden rules delivered by ancient moral Philosophers? What issue is there of the precious dictates of our gracious *Saviour* and his holy Apostles? What becomes of the image of God impressed upon Man at the first, and wherein (setting the Angels apart) he now excelleth the whole Creation? When *Christ* vouchsafed to be conversant among men, he made it his chief work to improve the mind of Man far above the height of Reason, and we are so far from conforming our selves to his course, as reason is too sublime for us, and we fall so much short as with the Swine we wallow, and roul our selves in the mire of this world, without so much as looking towards Heaven and heavenly things, using our reason only in the choice of worldly pleasures and advantages. Some I confess there are, who *Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, bearing up their heads when there is a universal sinking towards the bottomless gulf, and they are looked upon as the Commanders of *Ramoth Gilead* did upon the Prophet sent to anoint *Jehu* King of *Israel*, as so many madmen, but Wisdom is justified of her Children,



dren, few as they are. As for my self, my desire shall be with *Balaam*, that my death may be that of the righteous, and not only so, but that my approaches unto it be such, as not to covet any pleasure, or other benefit, merely for my self, but what is rather mental than corporeal; and to cherish the body only so far, as it may render me usefull to my Generation, and keeping it in such servitude, as it may be instrumental, rather than a hinderance, in labouring for a happy eternity, and that I may continue in such resolution, I must implore the assistance of my almighty and most gracious Redeemer.

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SUNDAYS Meditation  
UPON  
ETERNITY,

*June 17. 1666.*

**H**AVING set my self to meditate upon Eternity, in the everlasting part whereof all the hope of a good Christian consisteth, I soon perceived that I went about to fathom a bottomless depth, with the bounded line of Reason, shall I then cast off the consideration of a matter so much importing me? No, let me rather sound the *abyssus*, as far as the line and plummet of reason will reach. My reason tells me that there is a God, the fountain of all being, for the World could not make it self, and that this God neither had beginning, nor can have any end, for otherwise he could not be God, being

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ing environed with time, time not as the measure of motion which had a beginning, but as it is part of that *Prius*, and *Posterius*, without which the origine and period of any existence cannot be imagined. Upon the foundation of an Eternal God reason concludes, that Eternity it self is, and yet my weakness of understanding is such, as I cannot comprehend how any thing should have being without beginning and end. Thus Reason, like an unskillfull Commander, leads me on boldly, but leaves me perplexed and in confusion. Hard it is to find an extrication in this difficulty, and yet upon full consideration this calleth in faith, which being above reason, seemeth abundantly to supply its defects, for according to reason ought I not to receive that for truth which strength of discourse leads me to, though I cannot find the limits of it in my reason, when the same thing is delivered to me for truth, by the highest authority? Let not my gracious God be offended that I give way to my self to argue upon a subject of this nature, for I am not without hope that I am led to it by Providence, since the thing is of so great consequence to be believed, and since it is no small benefit to have the way cleared in a matter concerning our endless beatitude. But the principles of Faith teach us, besides the confirmation of Eternity in it self, that the Omnipotent Creator, by mercy in his blessed Son, hath put all

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## *A Sundays Meditation* 119

Mankind from a lost condition, into a possibility of enjoying a full share in happy Eternity; and those beloved ones who perform their part in cooperating with him, into an assurance of it. Oh the depth of Man's misery by the first great transgression! Oh the infinite wisdom of God, whereby he found a way fully to satisfy his own Justice, and yet to make his mercy overflow, even to the putting of Mankind into a condition of blessedness far beyond his first estate in Paradise, so as according to holy Scripture it may truly be said, *Where sin abounded, there grace did much more abound.*

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*Soli Deo gloria in æternum.*

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# Original Sin.

**B**EING very much perplexed in my own thoughts for a long time, about an imputation resting (as I conceived) upon the justice of our eternal Creator (whereof we cannot be too tender) in the determinations of our Christian Divines concerning Original Sin, I could not subsist without a restlessness of mind and continual revolution of mental discourses within my self, as also an outward consulting of Authours, to try if I could find satisfaction in the point, which at the last by God's especial grace, I have done, and am so delighted in it, as I should esteem it injurious to others not to set the business down in writing, since perhaps the same arguments, which have satisfied me, may produce the like effect with others in a matter of so great importance. The scandal which I received, arose from this opinion,  
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That the Soul of man being a substance immaterial and immortal created by God and infused into a Body, wherewith it could not have any former cognation, is by that union exposed to an infallible eternal condemnation, not to be prevented by any endeavour of its own, and this includeth the greatest part of the world, and more particularly such Children as dye before Baptism, not having in the least manner had the use of their reason or free-will, and in that respect they cannot be guilty of any disobedience. As I take it, this is the opinion of all Christian Divines, both Reformed and *Roman*, and to me it seemed so opposite to the way of Justice declared in Scripture, and owned by wise men of all Ages, as for a while it made me take up the opinion of traduction of the Soul by the seed of Parents, but this could not long rest with me, since it were too strong an argument for its mortality as being generated; and since it is not conceivable how an immaterial substance should take its being from two distinct persons, by which it might be concluded to be partible, a thing no ways compatible with the nature of a Spirit. To justify this general comprehension under Original Sin, I find this Argument in *Thomas Aquinas*, whereupon he groundeth his solution, That all mankind participating of the same nature, is to be considered as a body natural; and all individual persons, past, present, and to come,

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as parts of that body, and that by the transgression of *Adam* (who then comprized all mankind) the whole Species is concluded in that sin, because every individual person may be understood to have consented to *Adam's* disobedience, though not by his own will apart, yet by the will of him his first Father, which moveth all those of his race *Per motum generationis*. He giveth instance in a Murderer acted by the hand, which being part of man's body, and having no will being considered in it self, yet becometh guilty by connexion with the Soul, which governeth the whole man. But this abstruse discourse will not be persuasive, as I conceive, for the hand alone cannot have guilt imputed to it; neither is the Soul of any of *Adam's* descendents a part of (or with) *Adam*, because created by God since his time, for parts (except parts of time) while they are parts, must have a coexistence with their whole, and it is most dissonant to common reason, that one man's will should be concluded by the resolutions of another. True it is that worldly Princes do deprive the children of Traytors of their inheritance, but this is only a temporal calamity, and is done rather for the deterring of others for the future from so great a crime, (being supposed to love their Posterity) than for the punishment of those who may have been altogether innocent; and that severity with just Princes never extendeth to the life  
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of the Traytors children: But the other way of proceeding produceth an everlasting condemnation of the whole Race for their Parents delinquency, which certainly is not the course of Divine Justice, if that be true which is delivered, *Ezech. 18. 4. Behold all Souls are mine, as the soul of the Father, so also the soul of the Son is mine; the soul that sinneth it shall dye, &c.* And in the same Chapter, verse the 17th. *He shall not dye for the iniquity of his Father, he shall surely live; As for his Father, &c.* both which places seem to me clearly to evince a personal judgment relating only to personal good carriage, or transgression. And surely the Authour of the book entituled *Solomon's Wisdom*, did not understand Original Sin as we do, when Chapter 8. 20. he saith, *I was a witty Child, and had a good spirit, yea rather being good, I came into a body undefiled.* Having thus declared my dissatisfaction, it is fit I should expresse how I became extricated out of the perplexity. I considered that brutes are understood to have their sensitive Soul by traduction from their Parents, if I may so call them. I considered also that mens chief exorbitances proceed from their affections, which belong to the sensitive part, as is clear, because beasts never want them, as love, hate, concupiscence, anger, and I conceive I may add malice, &c. These being mere productions and improvements of matter, are they that tumultuate with-  
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in our breast, and being disposed to excess, excite us to rebel against all the rules of goodness as curbers of their liberty, and so being principal causes of sin in us (who only are capable of sinning, for beasts have no Law prescribed to them) may be termed sin dwelling in us, or original sin; which rebellious inclination of our affections we may safely yield to have been contracted by the disobedience of our first Parents, and to have been transmitted to us by the Seed, according to which supposition all *St. Paul's* Texts concerning the effects of *Adam's* sin upon us, may receive a fit interpretation, and more especially a great part of *Rom.* the 7th. wherein he speaks of himself, *viz.* his immortal soul, as a thing distinct from sin, *viz.* the sensitive part or his affections. And since brutes are never without the sensitive soul and affections, it becomes a necessary and inevitable consequence that they are no proper emanations from the immortal soul, and therefore being distinct from it, are also separable, nor can they have power to constrain it, though they may be constrained by it, as being of a nature so much purer and nobler than themselves. And as for the notion of a pure spiritual substance, to become impure by being united with a material body, it is scarcely intelligible. Upon these grounds the difficulties may be easily resolved, for so the infused Soul  
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can have no harder measure by being placed in a body, than an eminent and able person hath, being put by his Prince to command an insolent and rebellious Nation, and first invested by him with a full and sufficient power to govern and restrain them, by which means he hath opportunity, not only to exercise his own vertue, but to gain high favour from his Prince, and to be in the way of great advancement. No such person would esteem this to be hard dealing, but rather on the contrary to be much indulgence and advantage. Yet if such a person should be so far from representing the peoples insolences, as that he encourageth and joyneth with them therein, it is evident that he exposeth himself to the highest punishment, and is the only cause of his own destruction: And even so it is with the immortal Soul, being placed in command over the sensitive part of man. But in case this Hypothesis stand firm otherwise, it will be said that it hath no ground in Scripture, and that will be altogether new, and therefore ought not to be received in matter of Religion. As for the first, I take it to be very consonant to Scripture, for at the first creation of Man, mentioned *Gen. 1.* it is improbable that God created him with less perfection than Brutes, whom the earth and water brought forth without any breathing of God upon them, yet they were indued with a sensitive Soul and its faculties, the affections, and the breathing of  
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God into him, whereby he became a living Soul, mentioned in the second Chapter, must be understood of the immortal Soul, as a distinct addition in the way of perfection, and the living of his soul there mentioned, may be meant concerning a purer life in the way of Piety. But the Text of *Thes. 5. 23. And I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ*, is that which I chiefly insist upon, for it can hardly be understood in any other way than of the immortal Soul, the sensitive Soul, and the Body, and all three there specified as the integral parts of man. True it is, that most Interpreters understand by the Spirit, the *Χαρίσματα*, or *graces of the holy Spirit*, which seemeth to me so improper, as it cannot be so intended, for those graces are never blameable, and so it were a strange Prayer that they may be found blameless. And this interpretation needs not to be wondred at, since the word *πνεῦμα*, or *Spirit*, signifieth the rational and immortal Soul in divers other parts of the *New Testament*, as *Rom. 8. 16. Gal. 6. 18.* with many more; and certainly the Text of *1 Cor. 15. 50. that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdome of God*, and many others, where the flesh is mentioned in the worst sense, are best interpreted of disorderly affections unsubdued by the immortal Soul assisted by the holy Spirit, for we know that *Enoch* and *Elias* come not within

within the rule of exclusion; and as for the novelty of the opinion, I may say, I think, no man ever yet affirmed that the whole Scripture was fully understood by any man, or by any community of men whatsoever, and therefore there being so much room for new interpretations, no opinion should undergo the censure of condemnation only because it is new. Thus much I have said, to shew how I my self am satisfied in this point, and perhaps this and much more would not be satisfactory to others, but howsoever, I have exonerated my self, not being willing to suppress any truth, the knowledge whereof may be either serviceable to God, or usefull to other men.

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*A Discourse sometime intended as  
an addition to my observations and  
advices Oeconomical, afterwards  
printed.*

**H**AVING treated of Oeconomy according to the proper and genuine signification of the word, I shall crave leave to speak somewhat of it in a figurative way, as it is used frequently by Physicians, but to doe it more extensively, taking into consideration the whole government of Man (or Microcosm) as well Soul as Body. According to this Hypothesis, the Body is to be understood as the House, and *Psyche* (or the Soul) as absolute Mistress of it, which I suppose will not be improper, since the Body is called her Mansion, and the faculties of the Soul, and the organical parts of the Body, may be conceived and treated of as Servants. This Oeconomy is either Animal, or Rational. The first is common to men and to brutes, The second only proper to men. The first is of so great importance, as the latter cannot be exercised without it, yet the use (or rather

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abuse

abuse of reason) hath so much power over the sensitive part, as becomes many times destructive to it, which would have been far otherwise with a beast, or brute. The body receiveth all life and motion from the Soul, so far as it must of necessity be dissolved by putrefaction upon a divorce, yet its government as to nutrition, is according to a Law, so far from being given by the rational Soul, as the dictates of it for the most part are utterly unknown; yet is there still a superintendency in the Soul, which by the use of reason doth very much conduce to the preservation or destruction of the Body, even in the way of nutrition. A learned *Jewish* writer, and some no less learned among us Christians, have held, that the Soul of man in this life is a spirit only potentially, but shall be an actual spirit hereafter; and this seemeth to be true, for it is hard to conceive how an actual spirit can reside in a body to govern it, without knowing the several ways and powers, whereby the said body is preserved, and doth subsist. Yet so it is with every one of us, and so it may very well be, if the Soul within us have no separate being from the Body. But howsoever the truth is, I shall speak in this parallel, not only of the Soul and Body, but of their several parts and faculties, as things distinct one from another. Among the organical parts corporeal, the Heart may justly challenge the dignity of prime officer, being intrusted



trusted with the treasure of life, which is the Blood. This is that part of the body which first liveth, and retaineth life the longest. Here the spirits are composed of the purest and most refined part of matter, and become the Mercury or chief Emissary of the Soul. The Heart like a good servant, doth not bury its talent, but keeps it in continual motion by circulation, by which means it receives a constant improvement. To the Heart there be long several subordinates in that business of the blood, as the Liver, the Gall, the Kidneys, &c. who are always employed in purging the metal from dross, that it may be more serviceable to life. In the next place we may consider the Stomach as Kitchen, which like the root of Trees, draws and prepares nutriment for the whole, and here we may do well to imitate the most ingenious Poet *Spencer*, in disposing of some offices, the Appetite being fit for that of Cater (or Achater) Concoction for that of Cook, and Digestion for that of Clarke of the Kitchen, to serve in the concocted food to several tables for use; and we may here note, that when more is brought into the Kitchen, than the Cook and the Clarke can sufficiently dress and dispose of, it becomes not only offensive, but dangerous to the Family in point of health, besides the waste occasioned otherwise. To this office, by a late but learned Innovator in Physick, the Spleen is made subservient by supplying

acid matter for increase of appetite, and to it also may be said to belong, the Mouth, Teeth, and Throat, the first two for Mastication preparatory, and the last for passage of Food; as also divers vessels for nutrition though not immediately joyned unto it, with several Canales leading to places of evacuation, by which, as is usual in ordinary dwelling houses, Nature exonerates her self of superfluities, and these are with more decency conceived in mind, than expressed in words. In the most exalted part of Microcosm, which is the Head, is situated the Brain, an appartment containing several chambers or rooms, where the Soul in presence of her principal officers intellectual, receiveth information by the five Senses, and their Agents the animal Spirits, of that which is done within the body or out of it, in matters of concernment to her, and there she resolveth what is fit to be put in execution. Here by the said invisible agents the animal Spirits, carried in their Vehicle the Nerves, she conveyeth orders to the many parts and members of the body, supplying them also by the same instruments with strength and vigour for performance of her commands. Thus much of the parts Organical or corporeal, and now a word or two of the faculties intellectual. The Will may be compared to the Lord high Constable of *England*, an officer invested with power too vast for a subject or servant, and in that respect

pect care must be taken, that he be well coun-  
 selled, lest he bring all to confusion. The  
 Intellect or Understanding seemeth fit for the  
 office of *Maggior domo*, or Steward, as being  
 indued with perfection of reason and discourse,  
 worthy to command all the rest, and so it  
 doth, not excluding the Will it self, which  
 as the most learned will have it, always de-  
 termineth according to the present dictates of  
 the intellect. This faculty of the intellect  
 hath two others attendant upon it, *viz.* the  
 memory, and imagination or fancy. The first  
 keepeth a record of things past, by perusal  
 of which, and help of the Reminiscence, the  
 Intellect, or Judgment, may the better con-  
 clude what is to be done for the present or  
 future. The second is posselt of a great per-  
 fection in ordering matters to the best advan-  
 tage as to circumstances, and so becomes very  
 usefull in most busineses that are to be trans-  
 acted, affording also a promptness to appre-  
 hend or conceive that which shall be offered  
 for consideration. Here I think we may fit-  
 ly treat of the affections, for though they be  
 placed by Philosophers in the Heart, as their  
 Mansion, which belongeth wholly to the sen-  
 sitive part, yet there must be a kind of spiri-  
 tuality in them, because they may choose in-  
 corporeal things as their object. The most  
 perfect (and therefore the most proper) ob-  
 ject of Love is the Deity, and the most fit  
 object of Hatred is Sin, and he that is the  
 Father

Father of it. So it may be said of Hope, Fear, and the rest. And were the affections and passions merely brutish, as the old *Stoicks* taught, they would not be attributed to God, though in a figurative sense; neither would our *Saviour* have applied himself to purge the Temple with so much fervency, carrying the resemblance of anger. True it is that the irregularity of these, who are or should be as servants, causes the greatest disorders and disturbances in the soul and body, but occasion is thereby given to shew prudence in the bridling of them, wherein consisteth the greatest difference between man and man. Hitherto we have fallen much short of our business, not having touched upon the chief end of Man's Creation, *viz.* the serving of God in holiness and righteousness, which duty consisting of many particulars, was happily epitomised by *Moses* in the two Tables of the Commandments. For the effecting of this, it hath pleased God to indue the Soul with a faculty, which putteth her continually in mind of those services, and reprehends her upon omission. This faculty is the Conscience, which may slumber but never sleepeth profoundly, and is armed with a power more than Papal, by which it erecteth a tribunal within *Psyche's* own quarters, summoning, arraigning, and many times condemning the Mistress her self within her own Family. There are troubles of mind by excesses of  
 loss

loss and dishonour, which make so great impression with persons covetous or ambitious, as by grief to bring them to the period of their life; and I am perswaded, that no man hath so full a taste of the torments of Hell upon earth, as he who is afflicted with horror of Conscience, wherefore I shall make it the only precept in this kind of Oeconomy, to preserve the Conscience from being offended; and so I conclude this brief discourse.

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**F I N I S.**

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**A** Sermon Preached at the Funeral of the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, November 4. 1681. With an account of his Life, upon, *Luke* 20. 37, 38. *Now that the dead are raised, even Moses shewed at the bush, when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob; For he is not a God of the dead, but of the living: For all live to him.*

*The Necessity of Regeneration*, in two Sermons to the University of Oxford. By *John Wallis D. D.* Professor of Geometry in that University, one of His Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, and a Member of the Royal Society.

Printed for *W. Rogers* at the Sun over against  
St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street.

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SOME

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L EN: Y.

# NOTES

Concerning the

# LIFE

OF

**EDWARD LORD NORTH,**

**BARON of KIRTLING,**

*noted* 1658.

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*Inter bonos non obsolescit beneficiorum  
memoria.*

---

By Sir **DUDLEY NORTH**  
Lord **NORTH.**

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[1682]

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T O M Y

Eldest Son.

**S**INCE it hath pleased God to set you in a condition, whereby you are likely to be entrusted, with the honour of your House, and of all which is most precious belonging to it, I have judged you the person to whom I might most fitly recommend the ensuing discourse, being an Historical Narration of the Life and Actions of the Raiser of your Family. Whatsoever you may find this small Work to be in it self, yet I know you will be carefull to preserve it in being, in respect of its relation

## To my Eldest Son.

to the person who is the Subject of it, and to whom we owe our eminency, if any we have. I doubt not but your own curiosity will exact at your hands the reading of it, and the fault will not be great if you doe it more than once; for besides that which relateth to your Family, you shall there find some things concerning the History of those times, which are not easie to be met with elsewhere; but the best use that you can make of your reading is this, the taking of your Ancestour as a precedent to direct the course of your life hereafter, which custome was usual with the old Romans, and very much stirred up their Patricii or young Nobles in the way of Vertue. You are now in the prime of your age (as to the active part of it,) and having the advantage of so much time before you, it may please God to give you much more liberty to dispose of your self and of your courses, than I have had. Doe then as this Progenitor of yours did, First gain abilities  
by

## To my Eldest Son.

*by study and observation in your youth, and afterwards employ those abilities in the service of God and your Country. As for your own person and private fortunes, it will be imprudence not to seek their preservation, and you may be instructed by this good Example, to endeavour the advancement of them, as far as it may be done without hindrance of a greater good; for such an ambition is so far from being unlawfull, as it gives wings (or rather being) to many designs tending to publick benefit. For me, it will be my part to assist you by my prayers, and otherwise according to my ability; and for such assistances, you shall be sure to receive them at the hands of*

Your most truly  
affectionate Father.

To my Beloved Son

My dear Son, I have been thinking of you  
very much lately, and how much I love you.  
I hope you are well, and happy, and  
that you are doing well in your studies.  
I have been thinking of you very much  
lately, and how much I love you. I hope  
you are well, and happy, and that you are  
doing well in your studies. I have been  
thinking of you very much lately, and how  
much I love you. I hope you are well,  
and happy, and that you are doing well  
in your studies. I have been thinking of  
you very much lately, and how much I love  
you. I hope you are well, and happy, and  
that you are doing well in your studies.

Your affectionate Father

John Smith

( I )

SOME

# NOTES

Concerning the

# LIFE

OF

*EDWARD LORD NORTH,*  
BARON of *KIRTLING.*

**S**UCH was the piety of the ancient heathen *Romans* towards their deceased Parents, as it became usual to sacrifice to the Gods for them: Nay at last it grew to that height, as many of the *Roman* Emperours thought not their duty sufficiently performed, unless they ranked their Parents in the number of their Gods, and so turned that which formerly had been received as commendable, into a very high Impiety. Among the ancient Christians (and very near the times of primitive Purity) the former was so far revived, as it became a note of Piety to pray for their parents departed; and the custom was so generally applauded, as it grew to extend it

self to Benefactors as well as to Parents ; and in this the Clergy men, as being conceived to pray more effectually than others, found so great an advantage, as they have thought fit to give it continuance even unto this day in the Romish Church. But the use of Prayer in that kind is now justly exploded by our reformed Divines as an error, and I shall leave the confutation of it to them, as a thing most proper to their profession; yet thus much may be delivered as a certainty, that a reverend affection to Parents and Benefactors, which was the ground of that custom, is not only lawfull but praiseworthy : And so natural it is to me, as where I conceive my self to have received a great benefit from one who hath finished his course in this life, it constantly possesseth my thoughts, that something is to be done by way of gratitude towards him. And thus it was with me in relation to *Edward Lord North*, the common Parent and raiser of our Family, till my perusal of the old and almost worn-out Papers remaining at *Kirtling*, gave me a ground-work to leave something behind me, which might preserve the memory of a person of so much Vertue and Eminency. Yet some things have occurred to my thoughts by way of discouragement, to divert me from such a purpose. As first this, That since he was *Propriæ Fortunæ Faber*, and raised himself upon a small basis, wanting the advantage of a high and noble extraction,

extraction, it would become a derogation to  
 us of his Posterity to mention his beginnings.  
 In this I quickly satisfied my self, for my in-  
 tention relateth only to a person whose asser-  
 tion was, That they were only truly noble  
 whose own Vertue rendred them so; and  
 these memorials are not designed for publick  
 use, but only to remain with us his Progeny,  
 who from the consideration of his advance-  
 ment may take occasion to praise God the  
 more highly, for the great industry and pro-  
 sperity of our Ancestor. And yet we may  
 justly affirm thus much concerning his Def-  
 cent, that he derived it from a family of ancient  
 Gentry, though perhaps not so remarkable for  
 greatness of Estate as many others; nor shall  
 we blush to hear that even that moderate lustre  
 of his was somewhat abated by his Father's ap-  
 plication of himself to become a Citizen of  
*London*, for that course of life in our later  
 times, is grown usual in very considerable  
 families with younger Brothers (in which  
 rank his Father was) in so much as many of  
 them by that means have so outstript the  
 chief branch of their house, as now to be en-  
 rowled with the greater Nobility, and to  
 wear Coronets. Another dissuasive was this,  
 That as we have no light at all in that which  
 he did during his youth, so not in very many  
 particulars after the time of his activity. The  
 former part of this argument must not pre-  
 vail with any man, who hath but so much  
 Christianity

Christianity as to esteem the Evangelical History, and the latter part being but a proof of his modesty, rendring it probable he conceived it a degree of vanity to leave any record of his actions in writing, whereby he might have seemed to covet fame with after Ages, it became rather an incentive than a weakening to me in my desire to continue the remembrance of that which either appeareth, or may be recovered concerning him; and I doubt not but I shall deliver that which is sufficient to satisfie any indifferent Reader, concerning the great worth of the person whose Character I undertake.

To make therefore an entry upon the Relation, *Edward Lord North* was the Son (and for ought we know, the only Son) of *Roger North*, and of *Christian Warcop* his Wife; descended of a good Family of Gentry in *Yorkshire*, of that name; and he was born about the year of our Lord 1496, as near as we can conjecture, and during the reign of King *Henry* the 7th. This *Roger* was of the Family of the *Norths* of *Walkeringam* in the County of *Nottingham*, which *Norths* had preserved a small Fortune in that County and place for many Generations, without any considerable encrease or diminution, living always in the quality of private Gentlemen, untill the days of the said *Edward Lord North*; and many years after, till the chief of that Race, by a Shreivalty cast upon him, with many chargeable



able suits in Law, and by the prodigality of his eldest Son, who unhappily had taken upon him the honour of Knighthood, was enforced to part with so much Land, as it caused his Heirs to fall out with the Mansion house, and sell it to the *Perpoints*, who at this time are owners of it. The affection of *Edward Lord North* to his Kindred of *Walkeringam*, was always very great, and so was his care of them in their prime concernments, and especially of *Edward North* their Chief in that age; for in settling the greatest part of his estate by way of Entail, he preferred this *Edward* and his Posterity, before the House of *Worcester*, and all other Descendents of his own Daughters, whose Issue was sufficiently numerous.

This *Roger*, as hath been intimated, being a Citizen of *London*, never attained to any eminency of Estate, yet was he not so straitned in his fortune, but that he could and did afford to his Son a costly way of breeding, training him up at the Inns of Court in the study of the Law. Like a good and wise Parent, discerning in his Child a capacity too large to exercise it self in his own narrow course of Mercery, he found out for him (though not without some inconvenience to himself) a way of greater extent and activity, which it pleased God very highly to bless, as shall appear in the sequel of this narration. From the little that is known of what he did in the prime of his years, we may conclude, and not unfitly, that being  
of

of an industrious nature he spent his time at first about the laying of a foundation in the way of his profession by Study, and that afterwards having gained abilities, he sought to render himself and his parts known, by applying himself to a fair and moderate practice of the Law in a plausible way; in which he made so fair a progress, as it appears, that he came to be of Council for the City of *London*, and had a yearly Fee for that service, though it be not known at what time of his age he came to be so.

The first publick employment of his that we have evidence for, is this, his having the Clerkship of Parliament by grant from King *Henry* the 8th. in the year 1530, which it seems in those days was an office of much more respect than now it is, for he had it first by Patent jointly with Sir *Bryan Tuke*, and then wholly to himself, and it was afterwards enjoyed by Sir *William Pagett*, then Secretary of State, and so it came to Sir *John Mason*, and others: But had the place been of meaner condition, he had wisdom sufficient to instruct him, that it is better for those who have their fortunes to make, to play at small game, than to sit out. About this time, as by all other fair ways, so in that of Marriage he sought his advancement, and espoused himself to his first Wife, who being a Widow and having had two Husbands, brought him such an increase, as not long after, he purchased his

his Manor of *Kirtling*. This was about the 33d. year of his age, which sheweth that he was not hasty in parting with his liberty, for he well knew the want of that to be one of the chief *remoras* to young men, as to their applications in the way of preferment otherwise, and therefore when he came to sell himself, he suffered not his affections to over-rule his judgment, but made such a choice, as to be sure in some measure, that the advantages of his Wifes estate should not be overballanced by any natural indispositions or ill dispositions adhering to, or inherent in her person. And not many years after this, his Sun began to ascend very fast towards its Zenith, for the King having taken a resolution to shake off the Papal yoke, he drew to his service from all parts, the most able and active spirits, and among others this worthy person, so as in the year 1536, he became one of the King's Sergeants at Law, for so we find him styled by the King himself in a grant then made to him. And now the dissolution of Monasteries being enacted by Parliament, and the Court of Augmentations being erected for the ordering of that new accession to the Crown, it pleased the King about the year 1540, to confer upon him the office of Treasurerhip of that Court, which he enjoyed about four years, and during that time, in the year 1542, by the name of Sir *Edward North* ( for he had received the honour of Knighthood ) he was High Sheriff of the

the Counties of *Cambridge* and *Huntingdon*, and also elected to serve in Parliament as Knight of the Shire for *Cambridge-shire*, which two employments did rarely concur in one and the same person. And afterwards in the year 1544, he first became Chancellour of the Augmentations joyntly with Sir *Richard Rich*, afterwards Lord *Rich*, and Chancellour of *England*; and within a few months following, sole Chancellour of that Court, by resignation of the said Sir *Richard Rich* unto him, and so he enjoyed that great office alone about four years; in which time (as we suppose) he might well have raised his fortunes double to the proportion he left to his Family, if he had not been a person of very great integrity. But though his particular actions in the managing of that great trust were sincere, and so not much obnoxious to detraction, yet his acting in an affair so highly offensive to the Roman Catholick party, exposed him to the censure of some of his own posterity of that profession; for upon some declinations in the house which he had raised, they have not forbore to impute the diminutions to that only cause, as a crime that had been the destruction of many Families so raised, and would be the Catastrophe of his. I conceive this to favour too much of temerity, if it be not injurious, but I intend not to undertake the vindication of this and other States, in their power of setting out at the first (or giving continuance to) a fit proportion

tion for the maintenance of those, either single persons or Fraternities, which are set apart for external service in the way of Religion, which power was not a thing altogether new in those times, as may appear by the Statute of *Mortmayne*, whereby dedications in the way of Piety were much prevented; and why may not a State finding the excess very prejudicial to the whole Nation (who may challenge a higher charity than any part whatsoever) as well annihilate such gifts already made as prevent them? for Dedication seemeth to consist rather in the declared intention of the giver, than in the approbation of Governours, either Ecclesiastical or Temporal. Neither shall I define how little subjects are blamable for executing the decrees of their supreme Magistracy, though unjust or seeming irreligious, albeit it were an obstruction scarcely recoverable in a State, if subordinate Ministers should be obliged to dispute the rectitude or obliquity of every decree. But certainly it can be no other than a high presumption, to apply the judgments of the Almighty with too much strictness to such and such a particular cause, for as the judgments are evident and exposed to the view of all, so their grounds lie concealed in the clouds and darkness which are said to encompass the Deity; and many times those who are crushed under a punishment, do no more exceed their fellows in guiltiness, than they in the Gospel on whom the Tower of *Siloah* fell.

But

But to leave this digression, Sir *Edward North* now stood so high in the favour of his Prince, as he put him into the roll of Privy-Counsellours, and made frequent grants of Land as a testimony of his favour, and of the good acceptance of the services done by him. These were great encouragements, and could not but carry with them as great a satisfaction to the receiver, but it was so usual with this King to throw down those whom he had raised, as it made his great ones *Stare sempre in cervello*, (as the *Italians* term it) or to be watchfull, carrying still in their minds the instability of the ground whereon they stood. And to give some tast how dangerous a Master he served, and how apprehensive he was of a change in the way of displeasure, I shall here insert a relation which came to me, though not immediately, from one who being himself an Attendant in his Bed-chamber, then when the matter passed, was an eye and ear Witness of it, and this it is. That once early in the morning there came from the King to *Charterhouse*, then the Mansion house of Sir *Edward North*, a Messenger known to be no friend of his, to command his immediate repair to Court, which message was also delivered with some harshness. This was so terrible in the suddainness and other circumstances, as he observed his Master to tremble at the delivery of it, who yet finding it dangerous to use the least delay, hasted thither, and was admitted speedily to the

the King's presence with this his Servant attending on him. The King was then walking, and continued doing so with great earnestness, and ever now and then cast an angry eye upon him, which was received with a very still and sober carriage. At last the King brake out into these words, We are informed that you have cheated us of certain Lands in *Middlesex*, whereunto having received no other than a plain and humble negation, after some little space he replied, How was it then, did We give those Lands to you? whereunto Sir *Edward* answered, yes, Sir, Your Majesty was pleased so to doe. Whereupon having paused a little, the King put on a milder countenance, and called him to a Cupboard, conferring privately with him a long time; whereby, said this Servant, I saw that the King could not spare my Master's service as yet; but whether or no the cause lay in the King's occasions, or in the other's humble behaviour and answers, it must be left to judgment, for as *Solomon* saith, *A soft answer turneth away wrath.*

But to pursue the Series of our discourse, King *Henry* after a long and strange prosperity in all his undertakings, which were extraordinary and full of hazard, came to breath his last in the year of Grace 1546, and as a full and final testimony of his confidence in the integrity of Sir *Edward North*, he constituted him one of his Executors, leaving unto divers others of his Council, persons of more

eminent condition, the title of Overseers of his Testament, a character of higher honour, but of less trust. And seeing that this King was so great a benefactor to the person who is the occasion of this tractate, I shall adventure to borrow so much time of the Reader, as to say thus much more of him. I know that many things are laid to his charge, as that he was burthensom to his Subjects and yet a waster, That he was Sanguinary and Voluptuous almost to the height. As I will not go about to absolve him concerning these, so I shall leave it to others who may conceive themselves more proper for it, to set him out in such colours, but thus much I shall take upon me to say on his behalf, That he was endued with very great and royal abilities, and that of all the governours of our Nation he is the only Prince meriting to be styled Arbiter of the most important affairs of Christendom, (or the Ballancer as *Guicchiardin* calls him) and this he did by assistance constantly, but variously given in the Wars between *Charles* the 5th. Emperour of *Germany*, and *Francis* the first of *France*, still supporting the weaker and opposing the stronger, by which means he kept those Princes still in play one against the other, and so established his own security, and in that respect was very fitly honoured with this Motto, *Cui adhareo præest*. And I think that the bitterest of his enemies must give him this testimony, That he was no less bountifull



tifull in his Rewards, than severe in his Punishments, that he maintained the honour of the Nation with Foreign Princes in point of power, and that he carried on the worst of his actions relating to the publick, with a concurrence of his Parliaments, which howsoever his heart was disposed, yet sheweth a very great dexterity of Brain. But that which leaveth him the greatest glory is this, That he laid the ground-work of a Reformation in the Church of *England*, which afterwards grew to that perfection, as justly to be deemed by judicious persons, the best tempered of any in the Christian World.

And now upon his death the Scene is wholly changed, for in stead of an active King, who for the most part governed his own affairs, the Crown is fallen to a Prince, who by reason of his Nonage being not able to govern himself, and much less two so potent Nations, falleth under the tuition of his Servants, whose nature is such, as they seldom fail to be guided by their own ambition rather than the improvement of their Master's interests. And this renders the providence of God the more conspicuous, for in this King's days the Reformation of the Church was exalted almost to the height, and in a way of more Purity than before, for King *Henry* seemed rather to seek the abolition of Papal authority, which so far restrained his Regal power, than any other change in the Arti-

cles of the then received Faith; but during the reign of King *Edward*, there was an aim at the establishment of Truth, even in such points of belief as had small relation to that competition for power. But to return to our business, the person whose Life we endeavour to describe, soon found a difference between his old Master King *Henry*, who already had gratified most of those which had shewed themselves active in his service, and the Duke of *Somerſet* newly made Protector of the King's person; for this man, that he may advance to places of honour and power those persons who have their dependance upon him, must either find or force a way for the effecting of it, with them who are in possession of those dignities. And King *Edward* had not reigned two years, before *Richard Sackvill* Esq; had the Chancellourship of the Augmentations in his eye, and with all so great an interest in the Protector, as to engage him strongly in the pursuit. For the Protector soon caused the business to be proposed to the person whom it chiefly concerned, and he finding himself too weak to wrestle with a man that did little less than govern the whole Kingdom in those days, thought fit so far to give way, as to bring the matter to a treaty, wherein he carried himself so like his arts Master, (though the Protector in person was witness to most of it,) as he parted with the place upon terms very considerable for honour, security, and profit,

profit; and yet ordered the business in such a manner, as the Protector could not but take himself to be obliged in it, as may appear by the articles of agreement between *Sackvill* and him, and by other writings under Seal belonging to that business, where the expressions seem to lay all the weight upon the Lord Protector, who is therein styled *Mr. Sackvill's* good Lord. Thus by his wisdom, he not only prevented a mischief which might have befallen him in the opposition, and preserved himself in the dignity of a Privy Counsellor, but gained a fresh interest in the Duke of *Somerset*, that might have made him great returns; But it pleased God to dispose of matters otherwise, for the Protector soon lost not only his power but his life, being supplanted by the subtle practices of *John* afterwards Duke of *Northumberland*, who though he assumed not the other's title of Protector, yet bare no less sway in the government, and demeaned himself with much greater insolence than *Somerset*. About this time *Sir Edward North*, finding way made upon him concerning his great office; thought good to strengthen himself by alliance, matching his eldest Son with the Lady *Winifride* Daughter to *Richard* Lord *Rich*, then Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Widow to *Henry Dudley* eldest Son to the said Duke of *Northumberland*; but neither that alliance, nor any of his other dependencies, gave him encouragement to seek farther advancement

during the reign of King *Edward*, so as then he endeavoured ( as it seems ) only to make good his former station, waiting for better opportunity.

In the mean time, as appears by an account of his household expences, he shewed himself worthy of greater honour, by living in a way of more eminency than hath been usual with persons of his condition in those and the following times; and then also his wisdom prompted him to have an eye to the Princess *Mary* next in succession to the Crown, for he forgot not to put her in mind of him by presents. This had been worthy of commendation, if he had done it only as a testimony of gratitude to her Father, but he may well be thought to have carried on a farther design in it, for we find not any such thing done in relation to the Princess *Elizabeth* the other Sister; and whether or no he did then discern some declination in the health of King *Edward*, who is said to have died of a Consumption, it is not easie to unfold. Yet such was the iniquity of those times, as his great foresight could not prevent his being involved, together with the rest of the Privy-Council, all the great officers, and most of the eminent persons in and near the Court and City of *London*, in a danger ( even by way of opposition to the said Princess *Mary* ) which in probability would have swallowed up any small number of them, if they had been severed.

For

For the Duke of *Northumberland*, foreseeing the certainty of the King's death, had so wrought upon his tender age and weakness, as to make him (as far as in him lay) to disinherit both his Sisters, and to establish the Succession in the Lady *Jane Grey*, his near kinswoman then joined in Matrimony to the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, one of the Duke's Sons. This was done by Testament, and because there was an Act of Parliament to the contrary, the Duke thought it not of sufficient validity, without the concurrence and confirmation of all those who were then in power; wherefore he caused a Subscription to be tendered to every one of them, and so apprehensive were they of his displeasure with the consequences of it, as there is no refusal recorded but that of Sergeant *Hales* one of the puny Judges, for it seems that all the rest subscribed. This action of his may seem to question both the Integrity and wisdom of our Progenitor, and to vindicate him in it will require a digression of some length. To plead infirmity as a defence, is not worthy of a person so eminent for wisdom, though *Metus qui potest cadere in virum fortem*, doth very much excuse; and though it may very well become a Statesman to prevent a present danger with the hazard of a much greater in the future, for as the *Italians* say *Chi ha tempo ha vita*, He who hath time hath life; which consideration made the then chief Justice of the *King's Bench* upon this very occa-

sion, when his Brother of the *Common Pleas* told him that they might both of them be hanged twenty years after, if they should subscribe the Testament, to return this Answer, That it was most true, but yet as true, that if they subscribed it not, the Duke of *Northumberland* might chance to hang them presently. But in my opinion it is not much to be doubted but Sir *Edward North* had for his security a better reserve, which is this, a knowing that the Princess *Mary* had received assurances from him, to be faithfull to her and to her interests in the way of allegiance, next to her Brother's person and Posterity, if any should be; which made her notwithstanding this Subscription, not only to continue him in his former dignity, but to advance him a degree higher in the very first year of her reign. And this course of his, to hold himself in power with an intention to serve his lawfull Sovereign who knew that intention, could not but be very serviceable to her, and being so, how could it give any great offence in a thing so generally done? And as for his own concerns, it cannot well be doubted but they would prompt him to his then compliance, self preservation at that very time being conceived necessary by so many persons of known wisdom; for though not impossible (as in nature where *A privatione ad habitum non datur regressus,*) yet it is very difficult, for persons once outed to obtain a restitution

tution of Dignities and Possessions; and sometimes it cannot be had at all, even by those who seem to be very much advantaged with the present Governours, as may appear in the Posterity of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and of the Lord *Dacre* of the *North*, whose Predecessours suffered for correspondence with *Mary Queen of Scots*, and yet when the Son and Grandson of the same Queen came to wear the Crown successively, they could not recover their former rights. For ingenuity or open sincerity, it is a most Christian virtue, yet since the wisdom of the Serpent is an allowed companion to the innocency of the Dove, that virtue cannot be so strictly required in a Statesman, as in other persons, for else it had been a very horrid thing in *David*, a man according to God's own heart, to suborn his friend *Hushai* to profess himself a Servant to his Son *Abshalom*, with an intention to supplant him and to subvert his Counsels, for that action of *David's* is not at all disapproved of in Scripture as others were. But to return to our business, In the year of our Lord 1553, King *Edward* came to the period of his life and reign, which though glorious for a great progress in the Churches reformation, yet otherwise was but turbulent, by reason of a presuming upon the King's minority, both by the Commons who in several parts of the Kingdom arose in Rebellion, and did it so dangerously, as the State thought good to use

For

Foreigners in the suppression of them, a thing  
 very unusual in this Nation, and by the greater Nobles who divided themselves into Factions, which some of them nearest in relation to the King himself, paid for, with the loss of their Heads even in his days, and others upon grounds then laid very shortly after. Upon King *Edward's* death, this Kingdom fell from a condition of instability which it had often felt during the nonage of its Princes, to an estate which was then altogether unexperienced by us, to wit, the government of a Queen regnant, a thing which the French Nation professeth utterly to abhor, and is called by them *Tomber en quinoille*, or to fall under the Distaff. It is true, that this Crown had frequently passed to the Progeny of our Sovereigns Daughters, but before this time it was never set (much less settled) upon the head of any Woman. This might have raised great storms, but it pleased the Divine Providence so to dispose of things by way of preparation, as the Pill was swallowed down with great quietness; for first there was not then in being with us any male Prince of the blood, as *Philip de Valois* had been in *France*, who there assumed the Crown to the disherison of our *Edward* the Third; then this Nation had given its consent in Parliament to an Entail of the Crown upon *Mary* and *Elizabeth* Daughters to King *Henry*. And last of all the Duke of *Northumberland's* ambition  
 not



not being able to make way otherwise, had endeavoured to fix the Crown upon another Lady of Royal blood, his Daughter in Law, so as by reason of this competition all the active spirits of the Nation, having no other adherence, became quickly engaged with one of the Competitresses, and so the other novelty was wholly put out of thought. The affection of this People was then so great to a right Succession in the race of their Princes, as notwithstanding hazard of the Churches late reformation (which a great part of the Nation had then set their hearts upon) and the interest of the most eminent persons become possessours of Church-lands by way of exchange and otherwise, yet the Duke of *Northumberland* soon found the weakness of his designs which he thought so strongly laid, and being forsaken by his party, became an assistant in the proclaiming of *Queen Mary*; but it was too late to prevent the loss of his Head, which had shewed it self so dangerous.

Thus *Queen Mary*, having her Sovereignty generally acknowledged, began her Reign, and being desirous to give some testimony of a gracious disposition, she gave free pardon to all saving the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lady *Jane*, and some few others. The Lords of the Council, who had subscribed against her, and for some time had seemed to act in the same way, were included in the Pardon,  
and

and some of them continued in that great honour and trust; which may seem strange, considering that the designs of *Queen Mary* were so diametrically opposite to those of *King Edward* in point of Religion, but the same opposition was between the Ecclesiastical policy and religion of *Queen Mary* and *Queen Elizabeth*, yet many of the old Counsellours were also held on by the latter; and it seems fit (if not necessary) that it should be so, for great changes in a State cannot be wrought suddenly without great danger, and the doing of it maturely and judiciously, requireth not only an exact knowledge of matters formerly transacted, but also of their grounds and causes.

Of the Counsellours retained, *Sir Edward North* easily obtained to be one, and not only so, but in the first year of this Queens reign, he received an encrease of Dignity, being called to sit in Parliament as a Baron, which is a character of the Queens favour not then extended to any other of the old Counsellours, though many of them held themselves in favour with her even to the time of her death. And this sheweth that she intended a special reward to him, and presupposeth a merit contracted by the performance of some former service of eminence. It cost her nothing, yet was it of very high value, for the dignity of Peerage was rarely conferred upon any but persons of great worth and merit during the reigns of these

these two Sisters, though under the succeeding Princes it became not only more common but a kind of merchandize for the benefit of Courtiers. And now it appears how seasonably he parted with his office of Chancellour of the Augmentations, for he did it upon valuable consideration, whereas his successeur Sir *Richard Sackvill*, who held himself in grace all *Queen Mary's* days, yet lost it without any recompence at all.

One of the most remarkable occurrents during this *Queens* Reign, was her marriage with King *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, and considering that *Edward* Lord *North* is by our Historians specified in the catalogue of those Lords who were employed in his reception, and therefore likely as a Counsellour to have concurred all the way in the negotiating of that affair, perhaps it may not be thought improper to touch somewhat upon it. It might well be apprehended as a great danger to this People, for their *Queen* to match with a more potent Prince of another Nation, in respect that this Kingdom might by such means become a Province, being deprived of the presence of their Sovereign: But the transactours well knew, that this great King (whose vertues were so many, as they cannot find sufficient room in this small Treatise) was before his marriage here provided of a Son, to inherit his great Kingdom in case there had been issue by *Queen Mary*, which  
issue

issue nevertheless of hers should have enjoyed the *Burgundian* Provinces, a great accession to his Crown, and free from the inconvenience before mentioned. And all other particulars were so well provided for in that business, as there appeared little intermixture of the Nations in the government during the Queens life, and no inconvenience at all upon her death. For *Edward Lord North*, he continued in good favour all the time of *Philip* and *Mary*, for he held his Counsellourship and was powerfull with the Queen to obtain grace for others, as may appear by the restitution in blood of a person very highly descended and wrought by his mediation, which also could not but be a matter of good profit to him. And now this Queens reign not affording more matter relating to the subject of this discourse, I must not leave untouched a reflexion indiscreetly cast upon this noble person by *Mr. Fox* in his Acts and Monuments, which is this. He saith, that he himself spake with a Woman who told him, that near the expected time of *Queen Mary's* delivery ( for she conceived herself to be with Child, and the whole Kingdom was possessed with such an expectation ) the Lord *North* and another Lord came to her, and would have prevailed with her to part with a child of hers newly born, but that she utterly refused it ; and this *Mr. Fox* conceiveth to have been desired as a supposititious Child for the Queen. The design it  
self

self is so unprobable, either to have been truly such, or to have been carried on by a person of so much honour and wisdom, as it needeth little answer, for the Queen her self was too vertuous (and religious in her way) to admit of such a thought; Neither if there had been such an intention, could it possibly have been concealed, being the concernment of so great Princes and Nations. And questionless the succeeding Queen would never have cast the least honour, or placed any trust upon this Lord or his Son *Roger Lord North*, (whom she made a Privy Counsellour and near officer about her) if she had given the least credit to that Calumny. It is therefore a wonder that *Mr. Fox* should insert in his History so trivial a thing, and casting so great a Scandal, having received it from a mean person (in an extrajudicial way,) who perhaps might be hired to the affirmation, for certainly he could not have found a more ready way to abate the credit of his other Narrations. But however it was concerning Queen *Mary's* conception, whether it were only fancied by her, or in it self real with an abortion following, it is certain that she lived not long after, for she fell presently into a deep sadness of spirit, and ended her days in the year 1558, having reigned but a short time, and very unhappily even in her own opinion, for she thought the loss of *Calais* (which was the last footing of our Nation in *France*)

to

to be an irreparable blemish to her government; yet was there much blood shed at home for Religion. which better might have deserved her sorrow, but she according to the Prophecy of our blessed *Saviour*, thought she did God good service in it.

She was a Princess very eminent for Vertue and Piety, but too flexible (a weakness incident to her sex, which is not so fit to govern in publick matters,) referring almost all to others, but especially in matters of Religion to her Prelates. These she should have considered, as too much interested and over-violent in things tending to their own power and greatness.

The subjects of a Tyrant, who manageth his own affairs, prove for the most part not so unhappy, as of those of a mild Prince who putteth the whole care of Government upon some choice instruments, for they become many Tyrants in stead of one, and being of a more servile condition, are usually steered by more sordid ends. Yet is the Prince himself answerable for their faults, and so certainly was this Queen, and the rather because in respect of her engagement to uphold the Papal power, she may be thought not to have given an unwilling consent to those horrid cruelties, but *Sanguis martyrū est semen Ecclesiæ*, which saying it pleased God to verifie most strangely at that time, as may appear in the Reformation perfected and settled immediately after Queen *Mary's* days.

Queen

Queen *Elizabeth's* entry upon her Reign, was embraced with a general applause, by the Protestants cordially, for they concluded her well affected to their principles; and by the Papists seemingly, because she was yet theirs in outward profession, as appeared by the Popish Ceremonies used at her Coronation; yet these could not but be very distrustfull, knowing her interest to be directly opposite to that of her Sister, for if the Pope had power to Legitimate the marriage with *Katharine of Arragon*, Mother to Queen *Mary*, then that with *Ann of Bullen*, Mother to Queen *Elizabeth*, being solemnized living the other, must of necessity be invalide.

This Queen presently made an alteration at the Council-Table, retaining some, and dismissing others. Of the latter sort was *Edward Lord North*, and whether or no it was his own desire by reason of age and infirmity we know not, but certain it is that he was not under any great displeasure, for the Queen finding it requisite to erect a Lieutenancy for command of the Militia, and ordering of Musters in each County, made choice of him for that trust in *Cambridge-shire* and the Isle of *Ely*. This she did in the first year of her reign, and by another Patent in her second year, she confirmed it unto him. But this power was soon resumed, and as I conceive, laid down generally for the present, which giveth occasion to say something Historically of the Militia of this Kingdom. c An-

Antiently the Martial forces were of two kinds, extraordinary or ordinary. The extraordinary consisted of Mercenaries, serving for Pay, and taken into service upon the occasion. The ordinary were partly such as lay under an obligation by the tenure of their Lands to serve their Prince, and this comprized all the Nobility and Gentry of the Land with their Tenants; and these were they by whose help our Kings made so great Conquests, and became so formidable abroad, for if the Tenants answered not the expectation of their Landlord, it was in the Landlord's power to turn them out of the Estates which they held, but especially such as were Copyholders. This power of great men, as it was extremely usefull against Foreigners, so it grew dangerous at home, for that means there was great and frequent oppositions made against the Princes, by Civil War managed by the Nobles, whose Tenants were necessitated to serve them, and this made the Kings so far to diminish this power upon Tenants at Will, by frequent decisions of their Judges, giving to Copyholders a Tenure by custom, as they grew altogether deaf at the call of their Landlords; And so it was found by this our *Edward*, and others who would have used their Tenants for service of the Crown in foreign wars under *Henry the 8th.* This was some inconvenience to the Prince, but little in comparison of that which hath shewed it self in these latter



latter times, wherein the Commonalty or third Estate hath assumed a power, not only to subject their Sovereign to a jurisdiction established by the said Commons, but to abolish the Regal power it self, and as a consequent thereunto, to bring the ancient Peerage to a level with themselves. And this may be very much attributed to the former extirpation of power in great persons, who stood as a wall of defence between Prince and People. The other part of the ordinary Militia consisted in the arraying of all persons fit for War defensive, and this was first managed by Commissioners of Array, authorised from time to time by the Kings themselves, which made them to countenance it much more than the other. But in process of time this power residing in many, who are more subject to find out dilatory scruples than a single person, gave occasion to the Princes more to affect the placing of it in some one, for one may more easily be commanded, and is more subject to an account upon miscarriage. But on the other side this gave more offence to the Commons in Parliament, who bear the Purse for supply of their Princes extraordinary occasions, which perhaps might be the cause of Queen *Elizabeth's* laying it down for that time, though she resumed it afterwards.

After this, it appeareth not that *Edward Lord North* ever desired other than an exemption from publick employments, with a quiet

enjoyment of himself and of the fruits of his  
 past labours; and in this it pleased God to bless  
 him very far, for he had little publick molesta-  
 tion, yet was he not free from disquiet at  
 home, by reason of some apprehensions arising  
 within his own family by the prodigality of  
 his eldest Son, for whom as is exprest in his  
 Will, he was constrained at the last to pay a  
 great debt, besides much of the same nature  
 formerly. In those days the sum which he  
 paid was esteemed very great, yet was not the  
 debt so considerable in his thoughts, as a dis-  
 position in his Son (easily discernible as he  
 esteemed) to proceed in the same way of ex-  
 pence. He feared that this would make the  
 young man to exceed all bounds when he  
 should become master of his Estate, which  
 made the impression so deep with him, as he  
 failed not to admonish his Son in the said Will  
 with very great reflexions upon him, as to his  
 prudence; and perhaps it wrought great ef-  
 fects after the Father's death. And here may  
 be noted, that the ablest persons make their  
 judgments as to the future with great incer-  
 tainty, for *Roger Lord North* proved a most  
 industrious and provident man, and a person  
 of great honour, for he was Ambassadour ex-  
 traordinary from *Queen Elizabeth* to *Charles*  
 the 9th. of *France*, and bare many other pu-  
 blick employments abroad and at home, till at  
 the last he became Treasurer of the household  
 to the *Queen*, and one of her Privy-Council,  
 dying

dying with that Character upon him, in which he exceeded his Father. Neither had *Edward Lord North* any greater hopes of *Sir Thomas North* his other Son, who though a man of courage, a man learned (as appears by divers translations of his,) and indued with very good parts otherwise, yet never had a steadiness comparable to his Brother, which made the Father to settle his Estate by way of Entail, as strongly to prevent Alienations as the Law of those times would bear, with a remainder to his Kindred of *Walkeringham*, as hath been already touched. And in the year 1563, he made the Will before-mentioned, and constituted *Sir William Cordall* and *Sir James Dyer* Executors of the same, both of them persons very eminent in those times, *Sir William* being Master of the Rolls, and *Sir James Dyer* Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. In the year succeeding, having crowned his wisdom by a discreet settlement of his private fortune, he paid his last debt to Nature, ending his life with the *Julian* year on the last day of *December*, and so changed this for a better, being then about the 68th. year of his age, as near as we can gather by conjecture. Thus terminated the life of this noble and worthy person, who hid not the talent wherewith his Maker entrusted him, but improved it for the advantage of his Nation and Family, which ought to be an eternal honour to him.

His marriages were two, whereof the first

was to *Alice Squier* Daughter to a Gentleman  
 estated in *Hamp-shire*, she then being Widow  
 of *Edward Myrffyn* Son to an Alderman of  
*London*, so named, and having also had a for-  
 mer Husband called *Brigantine* or *Brickenden*,  
 and by each of these Husbands one Son. By  
 this Wife he had four Children, whereof *Ro-  
 ger Lord North* and *Sir Thomas North* have  
 already been named, and in somefort Characte-  
 rized herein. The other two were Daughters,  
 whereof *Christian* the elder was married to  
*William Earl of Worcester*, and *Mary* the young-  
 er to *Henry Lord Scroope of Bolton*. Of eve-  
 ry one of these four there is Posterity left,  
 and now grown so numerous in the whole,  
 and it is become so far an honour to their com-  
 mon Progenitor, as I my self, who am the  
 Grandchild of his Grandchild, may in the  
 year of our Lord 1658, affirm, that I know  
 not any of the Race that have as yet applied  
 themselves to courses dishonest or dishonour-  
 able. This Lady *Alice*, as she brought him a  
 considerable estate in Marriage, so she was a  
 great and constant assistant to him in the im-  
 provement of his fortunes, always shewing  
 her self a discreet and provident person in the  
 government of his domestique affairs; and she  
 continued so till the time of her death, which  
 hapned some four or five years before that of  
 her husband, who failed not to yield a fair  
 mention of her goodness in his Testament,  
 desiring also to be buried with her at *Kirt-  
 ling*.

*ling.* His second and last Wife was the Lady *Margaret* Widow to Sir *David Brooke*, and surely she was a person worthy of his choice, for he shewed much care of her in his last settlement by Will, which is all that I shall need to say of her.

By his Picture, whereof there is yet a copy remaining with us, he appears to have been a person of moderate stature, somewhat inclining to corpulency, and of a reddish hair. As for his inward abilities, it were extravagant to question them, in a man so versed in affairs of State as a Privy-Counsellour, and that sate at the Stern so many years in an eminent place of Judicature. Such persons seldom want elocution sufficient, but if we may judge of his Oratory by his Letters, he seemed rather to have affected the delivery of a full and clear sense, than any curiosity of style or expression. I have heard, that being quick of apprehension he was much inclin'd to sudden anger, wherein certainly he greatly moderated himself, for otherwise he could not so well have undergon employments requiring so great a temper.

The bravery of his mind may best be judg'd of, by his delight to live in an equipage rather above than under his condition or degree, as hath been already hinted, and by his magnificence in other kinds, but especially by his buildings, which were very noble for materials and workman-ship, as may appear by the

two houses which he set up at *Kirtling* and *Charterhouse*, both in being at this day. To prove that he was a great lover of Learning and Scholars, we have two witnesses no ways liable to exception. The first is the University of *Cambridge*, whose body hath no considerable revenue, but what ariseth from the Parsonage of *Burwell* given by him. And it were pity to omit the manner of that Settlement, since that by it he exprest a desire of future correspondence between that University and the chief of his Family; for to the Vicaridge of *Burwell*, during its vacancy, the University nominates two Clerks, and the Lord *North* for the time being, presents one of them at his choice. Our other witness is *Peterhouse*, the ancientest College of that University, to which foundation, as a token of his gratitude for that which he gathered there in the way of Learning, he gave the Parsonage of *Ellington*, and so became one of their best Benefactors, as they cannot but acknowledge.

As for Piety and Charity, it will be hard to give evidence in particular about a hundred years after a man's decease, farther than may be extracted from Records and publick Monuments. Under the head of Piety, I think we may comprehend his care to provide Chapels in such houses as he built, for thereby appears a desire in him of an assiduity in the service of God by himself and his family, which care of  
pro-

providing peculiar places for divine Service within Families, was too much neglected in the age immediately following, as may be witnessed by many great and stately Houses then built. And may it not fall under the same title of Piety, to build a Chapel expressly for the enterment of his Posterity, for though the main superstition was expired, yet Burials in those days were attended with the performance of much religious duty? Under the title of Charity I shall place the above mentioned gifts to the University, and to *Peterhouse*, and I may add to them a care had in his Testament, of some persons no ways relating to him in blood. And if Charity be truly said to begin at home, then it may fall under that head, to make provision of a fair subsistence for his Posterity, according to the degree wherein they were placed (as far as it might be done without obliquity in other kinds,) and that was always driven at by this noble Lord. For the Chapel of Enterment, it was raised by him, adjoining to the south-part of the Chancel in *Kirtling Church*, and there at the very juncture of the Chancel and Chapel, he himself is entombed with a decent Monument of Black Marble, erected by his Executors, and the ensuing Inscription,

Edvardum Northum finxit natura beatum,  
Addidit & magnas gratia Regis opes;

*Providus*

*Providus & sapiens magnos suscepit Honores,  
Et tamen in tanto Comis honore fuit.  
Quæ natura dedit, quæ gratia principis auxit  
Omnia Mors una sustulit atra die.*

Now having brought this noble Lord to his Epitaph, that which I have more to say is to the Epitaph it self, and this it is. That the Poet hath mentioned some vertues which were purposely omitted by me, as being to be found there, but he is fallen much short of the Person's merit, and of that which might easily have been expressed in so many lines. Perhaps the latter may be said of my relations and description of him; but for me, I shall satisfy my self with the knowledge of my fair intention, having chosen rather to be defective, than wholly to omit the performance of that which by me was conceived to be little less than a duty. And so I set a period to this business.

*As all by Natures fatal course must dye,  
So all are shar'd in vast Eternity;*

*The wise as brightness of the Heaven  
shall shine,*

*Dan. 12. While others by their crimes obscur'd  
remain.*

*Let pious attings then adorn our Story,  
Thus Death brings Fame, and leads to endless  
(Glory.*

F I N I S.



To the Reverend the Master of St. Peter's College in Cambridge, and to the Fellows and Scholars of the same.

GENTLEMEN,

**A**fter a violent tempest (and of continuance scarcely compatible with such violence) about the government of our Church, State, and Nation, when at last there appeared some serenity of the heavens, and days that may well be termed Halcyon in respect of the former, I being a person who by reason of a publick trust had been involved to the bearing of some part in those actions, (though of a temper totally abhorrent from those Salamanders that were delighted in such a fiery residence.) found my self restored to some kind of freedom, and was so far from thinking it improper for me, as I conceived it a kind of piety and duty in respect of Relations in blood and gratitude, to bestow some of my spare time in the perusal of Parchments and Papers, (ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιὰ μνημεία) concerning the life and transactions of a noble Progenitor of my own, who in a publick way of eminency lived serviceable to his Generation when God gave him being; and considering that he flourished in a time remote from the present, and little relating to our late affairs, I conceived that I might inoffensively transmit my Observations to Posterity, not omitting the delivery of some truths which may seem to be of general concernment. This made me reduce my

Notes

Notes to some kind of Method, and doing so I cannot but wish unto them a competency of duration, they having not only reference to a person whose memory is most dear unto me, but being a kind of Issue or Off-spring of my own, which last is a consideration too apt to beget a partiality of Affection if not of Judgment. I never coveted the honour of the Press, much less should I do it in a time of so much prostitution. It shall therefore satisfy me to recommend this small Discourse of mine in the way of Manuscript to some of those whomay acknowledge themselves to have relation to it, and I hope it will not prove offensive if I make this my first address unto your Society, since you are not ashamed to own Edward Lord North (who is the only Subject of this little Work) as one of your noblest and most free Benefactors. And for my self, though when first I became a Cantabrigian, my Parents put me to suck at the breast of another House, as my Nurse, which hath secured unto her the chief place in my affection, yet the University being my Mother, I cannot but have a special respect unto yours, as being her most ancient foundation. I dare not term Peterhouse the heart of the University, because it would draw too much envy upon you, yet none of her Sisters can deny that she had the property of the heart to be Primum movens, and I think that neither they nor we can with any patience admit the least thought of a trial by ultimum moriens. I may justly affirm that no man can wish unto your Fraternity  
a longer

a longer and more happy continuance, for my desire extends even to perpetuity it self, if the nature of things could bear it. The truth is, that I do presage a very great length of time, finding the dispensations of Divine Providence to have been such as seem to design the prevention of a second Chaos, which state of darkness and confusion, should it once overspread the Land could not but put the great Luminaries of it to the hazard of being extinguished. Blame me not therefore if I desire to deposite with you this small Tractate, which may be dear to some of us in respect of its Relations, though not precious in it self, as being a Portraict drawn by an unskilfull Artist, and set out with ill mixed colours. But such as it is, the care of preserving it is a trust, and if you shall be pleased so far to accept of that trust, as to afford a place in your College Library to this little Work (being the Hand-writing of a Lady) it will lay a fresh obligation upon him who already is

Yours most affectionate

to serve you

DUDLEY NORTH.

To the Reverend the Vice - Chancellour, and  
other the Heads and Governours of the Uni-  
versity of Cambridge.

**I**T was an effect of Superstition in the ancient  
Heathen, to ascribe unto Fountains of most  
Eminence a kind of Divinity, finding in them  
a perennity more than is to be had in other su-  
blunary beings; which Art of theirs was not on-  
ly Impious in it self, but Injurious to the true  
Deity, for how can that be justly imputed to any  
part of the Creation, which is peculiar to the  
Creator, that infinitely pure Essence, from whose  
effluence all that is, or hereafter can be, must  
have its derivation? Yet certainly it can no  
way participate of evil, to afford honour next  
to those Divine, unto fountains of Learning,  
which learning so adds light to natural Reason,  
as gives it ability to search into all the secrets  
of Nature, and to unfold those mysteries, which  
we have by Divine revelation, so as to impart  
them with advantage unto Subjects capable of  
such sublime notions. Such a fountain is our  
Univerfity of Cambridge, from whom (together  
with her Sister of Oxford) this Nation must ac-  
knowledge to have received the honour and hap-  
piness, not only to enjoy it her self, but to have  
imparted to Foreigners, much of that encrease  
of knowledge both Natural and Theological,  
wherewith the World is at this time furnished.  
Of this honour and common benefit the heart of  
each intelligent Englishman ought to receive an  
impression,

impression, and more especially the heart of such persons as are Sons of either University. But because Gratitude concealed yields little fruit, therefore I (though one of those who have taken from the Cantabrigian Helicon least water) hold my self bound rather to break silence than to run the hazard of being censured for Ingratitude. And because I have nothing worthy in it self, to be offered to my Mother the University, I adventure to present unto Her (by an address unto you Her chief Officers) that which may be esteemed worthy in respect of relation unto Her self, which is the Life of Edward Lord North, one of Her chief Benefactors. And that he was so, may appear by this, that the Patronage of Burwell Rectory was his Inheritance, and appropriated to the University of Cambridge by his solicitation and favour with the then King, and (as we firmly believe) at his own charge: This is the most profitable Possession (as I have heard) that the University is endowed with, and yet the matter is so far mistaken, as in your Annual Commemoration of Benefactors, Edward Lord North is wholly left out, and the gift of Burwell is attributed only to Henry the Eighth, his Prince and Master, with whom it was too usual to assume unto himself the honour of other mens Bounty and Charity. For proof of this I must request your perusal of the ensuing short Tractate, and the Transcript of an Evidence subjoined to it, which cannot but be upon Record somewhere. When you shall have given me so much reading, and dele-  
gated

gated some person to make search in your Writings, I shall have no reason, either to doubt your assent to, what I have affirmed, or to despair of right to be done in future commemorations. And you cannot blame us of his Progeny, if we be unwilling to lose the honour of his having been Benefactor to so honourable and eminent a Society. As for Edward Lord North, I may well hope, that upon reading, you will find him a person worthy to be owned in such a Relation. And for the Discourse it self, I am unwilling to doubt your affording it the honour of a place in the University Library; for though it were written in a time of unparall'd trouble and confusion, when the best conversation of Good men was with their own thoughts, and when Historical Truth was dangerous, yet it containeth (as I think nothing apt to give offence, and perhaps something of History will be found there, which untouched by others, may become a pleasing entertainment to the Reader. I must not omit the asking your pardon, for filling empty Leaves with those abrupt Occasionals, which durst not have appeared in your presence alone, and have little to say for themselves, but that they are born of the same parent with the other. I must confess in both parts a great vacuity of learning, and that the style will be found rough and unpleasant, both which faults are scarce pardonable with Scholars, yet having a sincere intention in the address, I cast my self upon your favour, and am

Yours most affectionate to serve you,

D<sup>D</sup> D. NORTH.